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The Nation

Contents of this Number

THE WEEK 539
EDITORIAL ARTICLES:
The Austrian Humpty Dumpty 542
Swords and Ploughshares 543
New Diplomacy for Old 544
The Aim of Reconstruction 545
Why Is Roosevelt Unjailed? 546
JUSTICE TO WAR'S HERETICS. By Norman Thomas 547
THE FAITH OF A HERETIC. By Roger Nash Baldwin 549
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGANIA. By L. F. Anderson 550
THE MENNONITE PROBLEM IN CANADA. By J. A. Stevenson 551
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE:
I. American Influence in Japan. By Ernest W. Clement 553
II. The New Dutch Cabinet. By A. J. Barnouw 554
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By The Drifter 555
THE FLYING DUTCHMAN. By Edwin Arlington Robinson 556
CORRESPONDENCE:
Gissing as a Prophet. By George R. Coffman 556
Appalachian Indignation. By Arthur Stanley Peace 556
With Bands Playing. By Archibald MacMechan 557
Bret Harte to Carlyle. By Eunice Wead 557
Why Suffrage Lost. By Ida Husted Harper 557
President Wilson and the World Peace. By William E. Dodd 557
BOOKS:
The Education of the South African Native 558
America After the War 559
The Dance of Siva 560
Fun and Fancy 560
Espionage Cases 561
NOTES:
The Danish West Indies under Company Rule 562
The Home Book of Verse 562
Reminiscences of Lafcadio Hearn 562
The Real Colonel House 562
Cicero 563
Short History of the English People 563
Roving and Fighting 563
The Desert Campaigns 563
Crescent and Iron Cross 563
The Language of Color 563
The U-Boat Hunters 563
William Dunlap: A Study of His Life and Works 565
ART:
An Opportunity Lost. By N. N. 564
DRAMA:
Contrasts at the Vieux Colombier 564
Peter's Mother 564
MUSIC:
Intimate Opera. By A. J. N. 565
A History of Music 566
FINANCE:
Regulating the Money Market. By William Justus Boies 566
BOOKS OF THE WEEK 567

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The Week

IT is encouraging to observe that some of the French papers which are nearest to the Government have lowered their truculent tone since the German reply to President Wilson was made public. The *Figaro*, for example, which has hitherto been quite irreconcilable, expressed satisfaction with the terms of the German note, and accepted it as a real capitulation. The *Petit Parisien*, which has the largest circulation of any paper in France, and the entire press of the Left, spoke with great moderation and reasonableness and showed themselves free of the bitter-ender temper and of the corroding suspicion that anything written by the German Foreign office was *ipso facto* untrustworthy. Four of the leading papers, however, continued their irreconcilable attitude towards anything short of unconditional surrender on the part of Germany and Austria, and the most violent of them, the *Matin*, demands an indemnity, the undiscussed restoration of Alsace and Lorraine, and the disarmament of Germany. In a case of this kind the press is always tardy and reluctant about expressing public sentiment; and this notable division of opinion among the newspapers may be taken to indicate that by no means every one in France who is not a Socialist or Syndicalist is a bitter-ender.

NOW that the war is nearly over, and the Allied statesmen see victory within grasp, they are largely ceasing to talk about ideals, and are getting down to the practical business of remaking the map. The indications are that most of them want to remake it on the old basis of seizing all that they can get, and letting their confederates have what is necessary to pacify them. In an illuminating article in the *Kokumin*, as reported in the *Sun*, Marquis Okuma, former Premier of Japan, outlines what the Japanese terms ought to be. Like everybody else—except the Republicans, apparently—he, of course, accepts President Wilson's fourteen points, which work out as follows on the basis of Germany's complete surrender: "In regard to the western front, the Balkans, and the African colonies, Japan should support England, France, and America." "The indemnity question should be decided at a conference of the Allies." Samoa should be left to Great Britain and the United States, and Australia should hold New Guinea. As to the future of Germany and Russia, Japan should "coöperate with the Allies' view for the future perpetuation of world peace." She should also "confer with the Allies regarding the maintenance of order in Siberia. No Power should have a paramount voice in regard to concessions and other interests there." The principle of the open door should be maintained in China. "The Marshall, Caroline, and Ladrone Islands, now occupied by the Japanese, are valueless to Japan, but dangerous in the hands of Germany. As there is no reason to give them to a third party, Japan should continue in possession." Finally, "Tsingtau, the port of Kiaochau, and the South Sea cable should be transferred to Japan, also the Thinan railway, Germany purchasing both properties from their owners and transferring them to Japan."

DOUBTLESS it is necessary to be "practical," but if the war has been fought for this sort of thing, we ought to cease here and now to talk humbug like self-determination, the rights of small nations, no annexations, no punitive indemnities, and all the other principles which, originating in Russia, have yet come to be identified with the name of President Wilson; for a settlement of this sort would make them plain humbug, no more, no less. Marquis Okuma in effect would have Japan give the Western Entente Powers *carte blanche* in Europe and Africa, in return for their support of Japanese pretensions in the East. "Maintenance of order in Siberia"—we already know what that means. "The open door in China"— a fair phrase under whose protecting mantle Japanese imperialists, exactly like those of other countries, have kept up a process of uninterrupted aggression on the helpless Chinese. Unconsidered islands in the Pacific to go to Japan by default—but they are handily located for naval purposes. And finally, Tsingtau, stolen from China by Germany in 1897, to be retained by Japan, along with the Thinan railway and the South Sea cable—Germany, incidentally, footing the bill. This is the same Tsingtau which the Japanese in 1914 solemnly called on Germany to surrender in order that Japan at the end of the war might return it to China. We do not criticise the Japanese people, for whom we have the highest admiration and respect, but any Government that puts forward these terms, or anything like them, will have played traitor to its highest trust. Marquis Okuma's terms are based on the old evil principle of dividing the "swag" among the victors. If the Japanese Government, or any other Government, puts forward such a programme, it ought to be buried ocean-deep under the wrath of an outraged people who have been called on to shed their blood for something wholly different, namely, a new world order based on justice and mutual rights, with international guarantees to make war unnecessary and diplomatic plottings against the interests of the people as difficult as possible. Shall the peoples of the world allow their rulers in the hour of victory to make of no effect the unexampled sacrifices of the past four and a half years?

THE latest blunder of the Committee on Public Information is of more than passing interest. On October 23, a report was published in several papers announcing that Secretary Daniels had appeared the previous evening before the House Naval Committee to urge an appropriation of $600,000,000 for a new three-year naval building programme calling for ten superdreadnoughts, six battle cruisers, and 140 smaller craft. A dispatch from Washington in the New York *Globe* went so far as to attribute to Secretary Daniels certain comments on the programme. A few excerpts from this dispatch may be quoted: "Secretary Daniels, in submitting the new programme of construction, said it was in line with the policy of the Government, which had met the entire approval of the American people, of building up a navy strong enough to meet all requirements. . . Secretary Daniels's programme undoubtedly has strong Congressional support. The feeling in that

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branch of the Government undoubtedly is that the United States, with plans for a great commerce after the war, must keep its gun handy when peace comes. Little enthusiasm is shown for the idea that through a league to enforce peace world troubles can be settled, and while such a league may be formed, there will be strenuous opposition to going into such a league." Later editions of New York papers of the same date withdrew the story and announced that "the Creel Public Information Committee was a bit premature" in giving out statements concerning Mr. Daniels's action. Mr. Daniels submitted no estimates to the Naval Committee, but "merely mentioned the fact that he would have a big naval programme to submit sometime later"—probably, the report suggested, before the next session of Congress. The statement as to the intentions and proportions of the programme as first outlined was neither questioned nor denied. Mr. Creel's blunder raises a serious question for honest American liberals. Is the United States to be committed to the policy of the "handy gun" at the very moment when our representatives in Europe are planning for the better ordering of a shattered world? Are we, or are we not, honestly to strive for disarmament?

IT is discouraging, at this stage of the peace negotiations, to see the Republicans come out, in the fashion of the nineties, for a stone-wall protective tariff, and it is more discouraging to see that the President feels himself obliged to yield to their attack, instead of meeting it squarely by flinging down to them the challenge of free trade; for such action indicates that, in the judgment of the leaders of both the great parties, the American voter has not yet got far enough along in his international education to accept one of the first fundamental principles on which a real world order, as opposed to a narrow nationalistic war-breeding policy, must be based. When the President spoke of "the removal, so far as possible, of economic barriers," no man in his senses imagined that he was presuming to dictate free trade to the whole world, the United States included. Yet his entire record, and especially the excellent practical progress made under his leadership in our tariff law of 1913, justified the hope that he would lose no opportunity of forwarding this essential move towards world peace and coöperation. We therefore regret keenly that the President's letter to Senator Simmons took a purely negative and defensive ground, instead of coming out squarely for free trade and letting the Republicans make an issue of it if they would. When shall we dare to cease bowing before our protective-tariff idol, if we still fear his wrath at a time when a maimed and beggared Europe asks our food and clothing and machinery and ships and money, instead of "threatening" us with the products of its pauper labor? A few courageous blows now, and our image, with his golden head and his thighs of brass, and his form still terrible in the eyes of many of us, would tumble from his feet of clay, and our children would wonder that their fathers could ever have worshipped in his temple. The United States is in the best position of any nation in the world to pursue a liberal trade policy, and it will be to our shame and everlasting loss if we fail to do so.

THE Shipping Board has just cancelled a comparatively recent contracts for the construction of 12,000-ton troopships on the ground that only vessels which could be completed speedily would prove of any value in the prosecution of our war programme. As the last of these contemplated troopships were not deliverable until well into 1920, they could not have been finished in time to be of service, according to present indications, even in bringing back American soldiers from the other side. Another indication that the Administration intends to shape its shipping policy hereafter purely with a view to post-war requirements is afforded by Mr. Hurley's announcement of the refusal of the Fleet Corporation to give out additional vessel contracts to certain wooden shipyards because of their failure to deliver ships on time or for the agreed price. In all probability, this means the speedy elimination of the wooden ship from the Shipping Board's future shipbuilding programme. No one should object to such an outcome, for, in this age of iron and steel, wooden ships are merely emergency craft. Those built in the past year have proved costly to construct and operate, and such of them as are in service on the Pacific have developed so many leaks that the Australian Government has forbidden their employment as wheat carriers. One of them foundered on its trial trip.

THE report of Mr. Hughes is on the whole a disappointment to those who, for partisan or other reasons, were looking for a large-scale scandal. The "billion-dollar waste" of last spring, with nothing to show for it, simmers down to an actual disbursement of $106,700,000 up to June 30 of this year, at which time 6,171 planes and 12,631 engines had been delivered. Waste in plenty there was, indeed, and delay and inefficiency besides, but it is doubtful whether they were greater than was to be expected in the early stages of an enormous new enterprise. They were matters, says the report, "for administrative correction through unification of effort under competent control. The provisions of the criminal statutes do not reach inefficiency." There is cause for rejoicing in the small amount of actual peculation and dishonesty disclosed by this painstaking investigation. If this is the worst we have to show, we have apparently fought a pretty honest war, as wars go. Colonel Deeds and his associates in disgrace may be left to the judgment of the courts. The miserable attempts to besmirch Secretary Baker fail absolutely, and his action in forcing his brother out of a company having a Government contract is only an indication of the high standard of personal honor which a man of his type sets for himself in official relations. On the side of efficiency in beginning a difficult task of organization, the Signal Corps comes off badly in the report, which shows clearly the wisdom of centralizing authority and responsibility in the hands of competent administrative officials, and then holding them to strict accountability through unceasing Congressional and public criticism. We shall never get anywhere, in either war or peace, by adherence to the lazy formula of "trusting the President," and the Congress is derelict if it foregoes even for a moment, as it has continually done during the war, its prerogative of criticising administrative policy and performance.

WITH great satisfaction we learn from Washington that Secretary Baker promptly reversed the order barring certain books from the camp libraries as soon as it came to his attention. We do not know who the petty censor was who ruled out these volumes, but his ears must have burned if Secretary Baker's wrathful remark that "American soldiers could be trusted to read whatever any other

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citizens could be trusted to read," reached his ears. Naturally, so good a democrat as Mr. Baker must have resented the whole policy involved and must have been particularly outraged by the suppression of "Why War," of which his old Cleveland associate, Frederic C. Howe, is the author, and of "Approaches to the Great Settlement," by Miss Emily Greene Balch—the latter book being merely a compilation of official documents and European party utterances, without a single opinion by the author. Unfortunately, while great headlines and much space were given to the barring of these volumes, no newspaper has as yet printed one line about the suppression of the suppressor. That is the way of our press. It will know better some day and it will eventually realize how fortunate the United States has been in having so fine a liberal as Newton D. Baker at the head of the War Department during this war. One shudders to think what a Burleson or a Gregory or a Roosevelt would have done in this Department.

THE American Electric Railway Association, at its meeting in New York last week, passed the following resolution endorsing public ownership as "the most obvious remedy for the perils now confronting the street railway industry":

> The American Electric Railway Association recommends to its member companies that they facilitate in every reasonable way the public acquisition of the present electric railway properties, arranging such terms of payment as will conveniently accord with the financial limitations of the present laws of the respective States or municipalities, and that they assist in the promotion of such enabling legislation as may be deemed necessary by the public authorities to bring about the fullest measure of public ownership of electric railways and their fullest expansion to fully meet the needs of the respective communities.

The public utility companies, many of them heavily capitalized, faced by the rapidly rising costs and difficult financial conditions of the war period, and unable, because of charter limitations or the prohibitions of State commissions, to raise their rates, have in many cases been in a difficult situation; but probably few persons outside the industry itself have realized that the condition was serious enough to lead the executives of more than four hundred of the leading city and interurban lines to commit themselves to so radical a remedy. Mr. J. D. Mortimer, president of the Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company, who introduced the resolution, declared that franchises were now practically valueless and were no more than permits to lay rails in the streets. This, of course, is as it should be. Richard McCulloch, president of the United Railways of St. Louis, stating that neither the public nor the regulating bodies are inclined to let the companies charge rates sufficient to enable them to live, saw in public ownership the solution of the questions of service, rates and wages. Employees, he pointed out, could under that system be put into the civil service and their pay regulated like that of firemen, and if there should be a deficit in the company budget, it could be met through taxation. He also indicated operating economies in municipal operation, contrary to the usual idea. In view of their bitter opposition to public ownership only a few years ago, the present position of the street railway men is astonishing. The action of the companies makes efficient municipal administration, accurate public accounting, and intelligent budget making imperatively necessary. It is, nevertheless, hard to enlist the interest of the ordinary citizen in any of them, except for a few days at election time. One benefit of public ownership might be his education in the importance of public finance.

WE have no doubt that the great sum to be raised by the associated philanthropic agencies headed by the Red Cross will be oversubscribed, even though it staggers the imagination to conceive of the raising of $170,000,000 in so short a time, when such demands have been so incessantly made on the nation's pocketbook since we entered the war. The truth is that these charitable "drives" have been a wonderful thing for the country. They have taught people to give who never dreamed of giving before. This is particularly true of people with small means who were formerly content to let the rich people take care of all philanthropies. Once having tasted the pleasure of giving, they are now ready to continue, and they are giving not only to these national undertakings but to local causes as well. Thus, a suburban community near New York has just ended a week's campaign for its hospital. As it came right on top of the fourth Liberty Loan the projectors were fearful of the results. They succeeded beyond their expectations, not because of any considerable response from the rich people of the neighborhood, but because of the gifts of twenty-five dollars and ten dollars from tradesmen and others who could not have been induced to contribute more than a dollar or two at most prior to the war. This lesson of the solid satisfaction which comes from giving of one's means to benefit others is one that must not be lost after the war is over. There ought to be similar "drives" for a long time to come, not only to relieve suffering abroad and to rehabilitate such people as the Armenians or such a country as Servia, but to improve our own backward conditions. What would it not mean, for instance, if we could have $170,000,000 for the education of the colored people and poor whites of the South? One of the pleasantest features of this war work appeal is the union of diverse religious elements which could hardly have been brought to coöperate before, but which are now working together with a wholehearted and unstinted friendliness that is full of brighter promise for their united action in the future.

THE influx of new and worthy musicians continues unabated. This week saw the début in New York of a remarkably talented young woman violinist, Miss Thelma Given. What is to be the fate of these musicians when the war is over? Must America continue to provide their chief support? And what will conditions be in the war-worn countries? Usually, after such a war, there is a wave of materialism, due in part to the necessity of physical reconstruction, which augurs ill for art and artists. Will there be enough money left on the Continent to make possible an early and a complete revival of the musical life that existed prior to the war? Again, are the hatreds of the war to prevent an interchange of musicians between the two hostile groups? We know how many years it was before German music could obtain a full hearing in France after 1870. On the other hand, the English newspapers report a yearning for good music on the part of the troops at the front which cannot be denied when the men get within reach of a good orchestra or band. Shall we have the same desire on this side? And shall we be able to trace good results from the excellent instruction in singing given at the cantonments? The answering of these questions is of prime importance to the world of music which is mourning the loss of endless promising talent in all the Continental countries and in England, and is in grave doubt as to what the future holds in store.

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The Austrian Humpty Dumpty

THE Austrian Humpty-Dumpty who has sat so long upon the wall where he was maintained by the pride and interests of the Hapsburgs, by their German and Polish supporters, and by the magnates of Hungary, has fallen to earth. His rigid but frail shell has been cracked at last. Not all the King's horses nor all the King's men can ever put him together again. For this let us rejoice. However dubious and puzzling the reports from Vienna, Prague, and Budapest, and whether there now be three new republics or five, the dismembering of Austria-Hungary is an accomplished fact, not by decree of a peace conference, but because of internal disruption, aided, but not caused, by external pressure. A rotten and corrupt monarchy without a vestige of real democracy, ruled by a mediæval court and a more mediæval church, has gone the way of all things human. It can never be restored, whatever the future may bring. The future is unknown, of course; it may be Russia over again, for already we find the word Soviet in the dispatches. Undoubtedly there will be chaos for some time, perhaps anarchy. This is the way the thing happens. But that it will eventually work itself out is not to be questioned; self-determination is at work without the aid of the Allied Council at Versailles, or any peace conference, whether of diplomats or working men. No matter how dark the days to come, this means a forward movement. An edifice so rotten, so artificially held together by duress, so wholly without rhyme or reason, ought to have crashed; when the smoke and dust have cleared away we shall see what can be done with the foundations. We have faith that the new structures to arise in its place will grace the world and make it a better and happier place to live in.

As for the Dual Monarchy now gone, in form it was a personal union under the heir of the Hapsburgs, who accumulated provinces and countries just as thrifty landlords accumulate estates, preferably by marriage with wealthy heiresses. In substance, it was founded on purely contractual relations, on the log-rolling principle of reciprocal assistance in political intrigue and in the highly developed art of creating dissensions among those whom it exploited. These bonds held it together in spite of the make-up of its territory and its population.

Geographically, what an extraordinary congeries of lands the monarchy was! Its centre was the Alföld, the great Hungarian plain, one of Europe's granaries. A roughly oval district lying between the Carpathian and Transylvanian ranges and the Drave River, no country in Europe is a more obviously territorial unit than is Hungary. Around this Hungarian kernel the twenty-eight provinces of Austria are draped like a wreath with no natural connection among themselves. Galicia and the Bukovina lying on the further side of the Carpathians naturally drain eastward and belong to the Slav world of Poland and the Ukraine. Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, Upper and Lower Austria, and the Alpine provinces seem of the world of Central Europe. Gorizia, Istria, Carniola, and northern Dalmatia are obviously placed by their relation to the head of the Adriatic Sea, while Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina seem a part of the Balkan sphere. Trieste and Fiume, the sole ports for the whole system, if system it can be called, have no relation to any river system, nor have they any immediate neighborhood of commercial importance. Of the Danube the Dual Monarchy contains as it were only the middle segment. The river is already large before it leaves Bavaria and enters upper Austria at Passau, and is still hundreds of miles from its mouth when it leaves Hungarian territory just below Orsova at the Iron Gates; it flows not to a European port but towards its delta mouths on the Black Sea.

The confusion of tongues of Austria-Hungary is due partly to migratory mass movements such as those which in the ninth century drove the Magyar wedge into the Slav world, leaving Russians, Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks to the North, and Bulgarians, Serbians, and Croatians to the South. This wedge was made a continuous barrier by the closing in of the Rumanians to the East between the Magyars and the Black Sea and the extension of Charlemagne's East March (*Oesterreich*, Austria) to the West between the Magyars and the Adriatic. The racial confusion is due partly also to colonizing movements, such, for instance, as that which in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries planted German and Szekler (Magyar) colonies in Transylvania and the German Zipser cities in northern Hungary.

This situation would be complex enough if the different nationalities were compact groups each in a defined area. The contrary is largely the case. A linguistic map of Transylvania or the Banat or northeastern Hungary looks like the map, let us say, of the industrial districts of a city like Cleveland. But in America assimilation has been favored by freedom, space, public-school education, and above all by the fact that newcomers have for the most part been fed into the industrial system at the bottom and forced by the economic and social up-draught into the body of the English-speaking mass. In Austria-Hungary not only were there enormously powerful forces making against assimilation, among them the inertia of long-settled if not autochthonous populations conscious of the claims of their nationality, but also the influence of the deliberate policy of *divide et impera* reinforced the complementary policy of forced assimilation, especially in Hungary. Furthermore, animosities were aroused and kept alive by the efforts of the neighboring powers for political purposes.

Across the divisions of nationality cuts another set of stratifications, the social-economic. Austria, for the most part not a land of highly-developed modern industry, was the classic home of victims of the belated and much-sweated house industry. Hauptmann's "Weavers" is a story of German Silesia that might as well be laid in neighboring parts of Austria. In Hungarian wheat fields a peasantry capable of the great agrarian uprising of some twenty-five years ago toiled for the benefit of great landlords. In Bohemia a German carpet-bag nobility, which dispossessed the native aristocracy in Wallenstein's time, controlled property in land to a degree equalled perhaps only in England. In Galicia the miserable town-Jews, practically shut out from agriculture, over-populous for the basis of their subsistence, were rivals in misery of the peasants on their inadequate strips of hand-tilled soil; and since the war began Galicia and the Bukovina have been harried in turn by both sides over and over again as the tide of battle swayed back and forth. In both halves of the Dual Monarchy the Socialists, in spite of the weakening effect of racial political splits, were powerful. In Austria they aided the cause of universal (male) suffrage in 1907, and they and the labor unionists

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have been the backbone of the continued effort to achieve universal suffrage in Austria-Hungary, which forced certain concessions from Tisza in 1914. The clefts of nationality and of class have moreover been deepened by religious bigotry. Corruption and obscurantism have flourished among the Austrian clergy to a degree which a traveller finds it hard to understand.

What hope does the future hold out? Will the more highly organized nationalist movement prove adequate to establish reasonably stable conditions? In Prague, yes. The Czechs are a highly literate, highly industrialized, very able people, compact, nationally self-conscious, well-organized, and politically drilled. They possess, also, a historical background of independence. Croatia, too, has political and historical definition, and if Agram has been ruled from Budapest, this was by chicanery and *force majeure*, and not by law or consent. On the other hand, the Croatians are like the Russians in their illiteracy and economic backwardness. The main body of the Magyars in Hungary proper are similarly homogeneous and territorially separate. This is the case also with the main body of Austrian Germans. In such cases, some sort of separate state seems a possible final outcome, especially if in reorganized Europe life is politically safe and economically bearable for little states.

A line of prospective development seems also clearly indicated for border populations adjoining larger masses of the same nationality, such as the unredeemed Italians, the Slovaks of Hungary, neighbors of their Czech cousins in Bohemia, the Serbo-Croatians of Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Slovenes of Carniola and the neighboring provinces. The population of Croatia-Slovonia if it desires to enter the Jugoslav state, the Rumanians of Hungary and the Bukovina, the Ukrainians of southern Galicia, the Poles of northern Galicia, and the Austrian Germans fall more or less fully within this class.

But what of the mixed districts of Transylvania, for example, or the Banat, where no conceivable drawing of frontiers will sort out the population, and no settlement will bring tolerable conditions unless men of different languages can learn to get on with one another? The tendency in European politics for a hundred years, and peculiarly during this war, has been to lay an altogether exaggerated stress on the political aspects of nationality and on territorial rearrangements as a panacea, and in Austria-Hungary, particularly, conditions have been such as to create the utmost possible exacerbation of nationalistic feeling. Yet in no country has there been more serious thinking than on the problem of different linguistic groups in one state under conditions of freedom for all. The Swiss situation has been studied, and novel proposals have been broached for a sort of pluralistic state with administration for certain purposes, such for instance as the maintenance of universities, based not on territorial districts, but on freely constituted linguistic groups.

With the devolution of imperial power to democratic folk-states it would seem that the way should be open for all sorts of interesting experimentation. It will no longer be necessary, one may hope, for the vital forces of Bohemians, Poles, Germans, Ruthenians, Magyars, Rumanians, and the rest, to waste themselves in sterile self-defeating opposition to one another. No more challenging task could face any statesman than that which faces those who have to carry their people through the "critical years" ahead of the enfranchised subjects of the Hapsburgs.

Swords and Ploughshares

MR. WICKERSHAM'S suggestion that the United States should remit the war debt which France owes to this country has met, apparently, with so unfavorable a reception as to make it quite unlikely that the scheme will receive any further consideration. This is as it should be. The proposal could never have had any other real basis than the calm assumption, as unwelcome to France as it is unbecoming in us, that France is a worthy and appealing object of charity, and that anything that the United States has to give, especially if the gift be large and imposing, will be gratefully received. France has indeed suffered heavily by the war, but it is a wholly mistaken view which pictures the nation as so impoverished in purse and broken in spirit as to make it a willing recipient of alms. France will recover from this war as it has recovered from other wars, and it will pay its debts, whether to the United States or to other creditors, in honorable fashion. We may be sure that it will neither ask nor need special consideration in this respect.

There is, however, an offer of quite another sort which may honorably be made to France, and which France may with equal honor accept. Why should not the United States ask France to take off its hands, at the close of the war, all the American war material of every description which will then be left in the country, on condition of devoting it to peace uses? Why attempt to bring back across the Atlantic, or to dispose of in France or elsewhere for the benefit of the American treasury, the vast quantities of guns, ammunition, motor trucks, and equipment of all sorts which the American forces will have at hand, and which will be of no further military use if the world is really to have a conclusive peace? The immovable property like railways, docks, and warehouses will have to be left anyway; that is a permanent contribution to the welfare of France which cannot well be taken away, and which the French Government may properly be asked to accept for our accommodation quite as much as for its own. Why not scrap all the movable property also, provided France will see that none of it is used for any war purpose?

The reasons which suggest such a step are not merely sentimental. An immense amount of tonnage would be saved if the transportation of this great mass of material, useful only for war and certain to be antiquated in a few years in any event, did not have to be arranged for. On the other hand, the relinquishment of so large an amount of war material on condition that it shall be converted into material for other purposes would be convincing proof that, so far as the United States is concerned, the war is over. It would be a rebuke to the militarists of all countries who plan to take advantage of the present situation to keep up armaments by land and sea. The war materials which this country has sent to France will have done their work—they will have helped to save France in its time of need. They would not have been forthcoming for any other purpose, and their usefulness in their present form will cease when the war is over. Let us ask France to be good enough to accept the whole motley array of swords and shields and turn them into ploughshares and pruning-hooks. It would be a happy augury of continued international friendship if France were to help thus to transmute the base materials of war into the gold of peace.

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New Diplomacy for Old

Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international undertakings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view. —Woodrow Wilson, January 8, 1918.

Just so. And from the New York *Tribune* of October 31, 1918, we clip the following:

Washington, October 30.—Realization that the German Foreign Office was using its notes to this country as propaganda, both at home and abroad, apparently has been borne in on the Administration, and it was announced to-day that the latest German note, in the form of a supplemental memorandum to the last peace note, would not be made public. In high official quarters it was admitted frankly that the reason the note was not being made public was that it was regarded as propaganda. It is understood that, with a view to preventing further working of the German peace talk machine, the Government is not only withholding the note from publicity, but has taken elaborate precautions to prevent its being cabled to this country from abroad. It is reported that the censors abroad have been instructed not to permit its transmission here, and its publication in newspapers in Allied countries has been prevented.

The New York *Times* dispatch of the same date makes this observation:

The State Department indicates that the note is of no public value, because it does not produce any change in the situation that has arisen from the German proposal for a suspension of hostilities. This is the official reason advanced for the unwillingness of the department to let the American people see what the note contains.

The New York *World* of November 1 prints the following dispatch on the authority of the Paris *Temps*:

Paris, October 31.—The chiefs and other representatives of the Allied Governments, like Colonel House, have moved the seat of the Inter-Allied Council to Versailles, according to the *Temps*, and held their first meeting there during the afternoon. . . . On the eve of the meeting of the Supreme War Council, Trianon Palace at Versailles has been isolated. The deliberations of the Premiers, Ministers, and naval and military chiefs will be conducted amidst the quietude of a woodland dell. . . . To make more secure the isolation of the palace for the conference which will begin to-morrow, all traffic in its direction will be stopped. Guards of soldiers—French, British, American, and Italian—stand on duty at various posts. When the council meets, the guard about the palace will be considerably reinforced, so as to prevent the slightest possibility of any unauthorized person approaching the grounds.

It would appear then that diplomatic business is proceeding as usual, in the usual hole-and-corner-isolation, and under the usual management. By no means cynical therefore, but on the contrary quite obvious and unescapable, is the inference that if this policy is not to be changed it is tending towards the usual ends. Peace negotiations may be in progress at this moment; the convenants of peace are, perhaps, being arrived at; but so far from openly that quite the best the public may expect would seem to be the promulgation of accomplished facts and well-worked-out formulae which no pressure of public opinion can modify or annul—with perhaps the admonition to accept them gratefully, like diligent and obedient children.

We find it hard to comment upon this because of our profound disappointment that Mr. Wilson has not insisted upon living up to this one of his all-important peace terms. The only way to practice open diplomacy is to practice it, just as the only way to resume specie payments was to resume and the only way to cure intoxication is to avoid the use of intoxicants. We are aware of the argument that one country cannot practice open diplomacy until all countries do; it is the same specious plea that kept all Europe armed to the teeth until the inevitable explosion came. But our indignation that the American people should not be deemed fit to know the armistice terms before they are communicated to Vienna and Berlin is even greater. We are facing now the question whether the *real* victory of the war is to be won or to be lost. Yet a German peace note is withheld lest it unfavorably affect our minds, just as if anything from that source could at this late day warp our judgments. We are aware, of course, that Mr. Wilson explained some time ago in a letter to Mr. Lansing that by open diplomacy he really meant only a very special and attenuated kind of diplomacy, presumably of the kind by which Mr. Lansing recently determined *in camera* our relations with Japan and China.

The President has just now further explained that the second of his fourteen peace terms did not by any manner of means contemplate such a thing as free trade, but something quite different and much more easily reconciled to the practical necessity of his party's situation. We are aware, too, that the premature announcement of a new three-year navy building programme to be asked of Congress in December would seem to be proof that the most vital principle of all the fourteen peace terms, disarmament, would also seem to have been discarded. Mr. Wilson has explained, further, to the late Austrian government that since his tenth point was formulated circumstances have changed in such a way as to nullify it. Despite all these exceptions and modifications we emphatically cling to our belief that the open diplomacy plank in the platform is one thing that ought not to be sacrificed or compromised and we hope and trust that Mr. Wilson will speedily insist upon a change to a wiser policy.

In this feeling we are strengthened by the recent Junker assertion of Mr. Bonar Law that no one would be permitted to take part in the peace conference except agents of the Government. There is to be no workmen's participation by delegation. Heaven forbid! That smacks too much of soldiers' and workmen's councils and Soviets. Now, if only the regular old-fashioned type of diplomats and "statesmen" are to take part in the peace deliberations, it is the more necessary that these pourparlers should be held in the open and not behind closed doors. No one can deny that the President's promise of open diplomacy powerfully and favorably affected liberal minds the world over; everyone ought to see that they will be correspondingly cast down by what is going on, by the news, for instance, that the United States is to-day being represented in the preliminaries at Versailles by one who is not even a duly accredited ambassador of the United States, who is entirely without official authority.

Along this path of utter secrecy and star-chamber proceedings lies defeat worse than the Germans could ever have inflicted upon us, for if pursued it will reflect gravely upon our honesty and sincerity of purpose. If Mr. Wilson's peace terms are not accepted in principle—however much they have been modified in detail by events since they were formulated—notably in the matter of open diplomacy, free trade and disarmament, we shall merely repeat the history of 1815, crushing German military power as Napoleon's was crushed, and transferring militarism to Washington or London without having applied a remedy to the evils responsible for the international anarchy of the last century. This is all so obvious that we still believe that Mr. Wilson will soon realize how the present policy jeopardizes every vital aim we had in entering the war and call a halt.

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The Aim of Reconstruction

NOW that reconstruction is perceived to be, next to peace, the great issue of the immediate future, the question what is to be aimed at in reconstruction, as well as how the result that is desired may best be attained, assumes immediate and fundamental importance. Thus far, public discussion of reconstruction has concerned itself chiefly with procedure. The resolution of Senator Weeks and the bill of Senator Overman, now before Congress, while indicating a number of questions which will have to be investigated, are of importance mainly because of the machinery which they suggest. Senator Weeks proposes a joint committee of Congress; Senator Overman desires a commission appointed by the President. The difference between these two methods of dealing with the problem is radical, but neither proposal sheds much light upon the nature of reconstruction itself. Similarly, Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt, while agreeing that reconstruction is something in which the Republicans ought by all means to have a hand, refrain from stating precisely what, in their opinion, the problem is in whose solution Republicans as well as Democrats should share.

The importance of procedure should not be underrated. The Weeks and Overman plans, and all other serious reconstruction programmes that may be brought to the attention of Congress or the country, ought to be thoroughly discussed and their implications made clear. Reconstruction, however, involves something much more difficult than the creation of machinery, and that is a decision regarding the kind of product which the machinery is expected to turn out. What kind of a country do the people of the United States wish America to be when it shall have been reconstructed? Will the Federal Constitution meet the new political conditions as well as it has met the old? Are we to continue to have a capitalistic society, with aggregated wealth on the one side, aggregated labor on the other, and the Federal Government enforcing an uncertain peace between the two? Is the Federal Government to go on operating the railways and telegraphs, regulating wages and prices, and controlling the distribution or consumption of food, coal, steel, and pretty much everything else of importance; or are the industries of the country to go back, as soon as may be, to private hands? Or are we to go frankly over to Socialism and be done with it? Any one of these or other possible transitions can be engineered by a properly constituted committee or commission once it knows what it is expected to do; but until the people have visualized America as they wish America to be, the work of any reconstruction agency is likely to stop with the collection of data.

The need of an early determination of aims as well as means is emphasized by the fact that two programmes, on the whole diametrically opposed to one another, are already practically taking shape. One, represented by the Overman bill, would result in leaving virtually everything to the President. This is a procedure which is likely to appeal strongly to the Democrats, few of whose leaders, thanks to Mr. Wilson's domination of his party, retain any special capacity for independent thought or constructive statesmanship; and they may well welcome an opportunity to shift the burden of a complicated problem to the willing shoulders of the Executive. What such a course would probably mean for politics and industry, however, can be approximated by observing what has actually taken place during the war. Unless history is to reverse itself, Executive reconstruction would mean the continuance of an autocratic Federal interference and control, the continued coercion of the Federal Government by organized labor, the militarization of education, an "invisible government" of unofficial advisers, and the repression of dissent.

The Weeks resolution, on the other hand, taken in connection with the revolt of the Republicans at Mr. Wilson's attack upon them, indicates clearly enough what after-the-war reconstruction will be if the Republicans have a chance to control it. We shall have an undoing, so far as is possible, of all that Mr. Wilson has done. The same interests, financial, business, and social, which have supported the Republicans in the past, and at heart have never been friendly to Mr. Wilson however unctuously they may have rendered him lip-service, will support Republican reconstruction in the future. The open demand for protection not only shows how little the Republicans have learned from the revolutionary transformations in American society which have taken place under the stress of war, but is also a sufficient advertisement of what the party may be expected to do if it returns to power. And it is by no means clear that the Republicans will not return to power, indirectly if not directly. The politicians who control the Democratic party in the South, for example, and who have continued, by some unexplained means, to retain through thick and thin the confidence of the President, are every whit as illiberal and reactionary in their way as the Republicans are in theirs; and a reconstruction programme which favored the "interests" could, if adroitly camouflaged, reckon with appreciable support even in the Democratic ranks.

Such, in brief, is the controversy which must be threshed out. Either the war, with its disorganizing incidents, is to be followed by a period of temporizing expedients so crossed by politics as largely to obscure the principles which ostensibly underlay them, or an attempt is to be made to force the country back to the limitations of an old social order which to-day, from a democratic and progressive point of view, seems indefinitely remote. Either outcome would be a calamity. The only hope for a reconstruction that shall endure lies in the continuance, albeit by much more democratic methods, of a liberal, even a radical, programme. We cannot go back to protective tariffs, not because industry does not need to be encouraged, but because we have caught a vision of a new American society in which the welfare of the whole people, and not the benefit of any class, is the dominating motive.

This is the problem which has to be faced, and which cannot be faced too soon. The war is drawing to its end. The enemy gives way everywhere. In a few months, perhaps in a few weeks, the demand for munitions will cease and the soldiers will be coming home. Industrial readjustment, the employment of capital, the opportunity to work—all will be in calamitous confusion if the end which we seek, the new society which we wish to construct, have not attained some definiteness of outline in the public mind. If Congress and the President, organized labor and organized capital, farmers as well as industrial workers, look for orderly reconstruction of an enduring sort, they will lose no time in initiating the widest possible discussion of the principles involved at the time that the machinery is being elaborated which is to put the principles into operation.

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Why is Roosevelt Unjailed?

WE ask our readers what would happen if an humble citizen of the United States were to attract a crowd on the street corner and then denounce President Wilson thus: "There is not the slightest suggestion that he disapproves of disloyalty to the nation"; the resolute and straight-forward soul of the American people" is being thwarted by "the obscure purposes and wavering will of Wilson," who fortunately has "stultified his own diplomacy and repudiated his own implied offer to Germany." Suppose that he should go even further and assure the crowd that in the cloak rooms of Congress it is a bitter jest to speak of the President thus: "Here's to our Czar, last in war, first toward peace, long may he waver." Suppose he should then proceed to say in connection with Mr. Wilson: "For the very reason that I abhor Germany's trickery, treachery, and bad faith, I am most anxious that Americans shall not imitate her in these matters," and should finally assail the President thus, only slightly masking the attack: ". . . Men of cold heart, who do not fight themselves, whose nearest kin are not in danger, who prepared for war not at all, who helped wage the war feebly, and who are content with a craven peace." Can any one doubt that if a soap-box orator were to use these words of Mr. Roosevelt he would be given twenty years in jail for "interfering with the draft" under our all-embracing Espionage Act? Yet Mr. Roosevelt is reported to have used these words in public the other day and was unmolested by any Federal agent.

Let us see how his case contrasts with some that are on record. For instance, an Indiana citizen was locked up for a month by a United States marshal for "uttering disparaging remarks about President Wilson," and then released without trial or compensation. One Oliver Smith of Faribault, Minnesota, was promptly indicted for saying that there would have been "no reason for the United States to enter the war if President Wilson had listened to the advice of La Follette and Bryan and kept Americans out of the war zone." It is surely not so reprehensible to say that "the United States might as well be under the Kaiser's government as our own" as for one of Theodore Roosevelt's influence to call the President a Czar and charge him with making a craven peace; but for the former remark Frank J. Busch was fined $500, compelled to buy a thousand dollars worth of Liberty bonds and give $100 to the Red Cross. For criticising the President's conduct of the war much more mildly than did Mr. Roosevelt, L. L. Miller of Ashland, Ohio, was promptly indicted and punished, his chief offence being that he "criticised the President for appointing his son-in-law to more offices than any one man was capable of filling."

We could fill pages of the *Nation* with similar cases; there is just one other we would cite. It is the case of Assemblyman Shiplacoff, now under indictment for "uttering disloyal, scurrilous, and abusive language about the military and naval forces," in saying that the people of Russia have much more right to feel bitterly against the American troops invading Russia than the Americans did against the Hessians in 1777. This constitutes three separate offences in the eyes of a vigilant district attorney; but it is no crime in Mr. Caffey's eyes for Theodore Roosevelt to charge the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States with deliberately selling out his country's cause, with being guilty of "trickery and treachery and bad faith." What could be more monstrously unjust or more certain to bring the administration of justice into contempt than this discrimination? The truth is that Assemblyman Shiplacoff is indicted because he is a Socialist and inconspicuous. Mr. Roosevelt goes scot free because he is a national figure.

Now our readers must not misunderstand us. We do not think that Mr. Roosevelt ought to be arrested and indicted. Far from it. We have said before this that he has rendered a public service in speaking out freely. Not that we like his manners or his language, or his reckless use of epithets; when he is excited he is hardly a gentleman. But it is largely to Mr. Roosevelt that we owe our ability to discuss peace terms and to criticise at all. The only point we make is that the administration of justice is grossly unfair when Mr. Roosevelt can escape while lesser offenders are sentenced so severely. The same unfairness has been true of the Post-Office Department censorship. It has too often laid hands upon the insignificant, the weak, and those unable to defend themselves, and permitted the New York *Tribune* to say things for which most radical papers would be barred; it does not dare touch the saucy Colonel Harvey who abuses the Government from one end of his *War Weekly* to the other. It is precisely this discrimination that is arousing deep feelings of distrust and anger in the country. Mr. Roosevelt's bad taste, his unfair abuse of a President who stands head and shoulders above him morally and mentally, will react upon himself. What we are concerned with is the effect upon the country of two kinds of justice. We ask the Attorney General, Mr. Gregory, to tell us why Mr. Roosevelt is unjailed.

THE Government's generous scheme for the re-establishment in industry of men disabled in the war should have the honest coöperation of every firm and individual in a position to help. The nation owes to the men who have become crippled in its service the fullest opportunities for development and livelihood that care, education, and employment can offer. The problem of meeting this debt of honor is of course less acute in the United States than in the other warring countries, but its comparative simplicity only intensifies the obligation of the Government to handle it with intelligent thoroughness. The preliminary plans worked out by the Federal Board for Vocational Education and the United States Employment Service are full of promise. As soon as a disabled man is discharged from the army hospital he becomes a civilian with a special claim upon the Government. With the help of a vocational advisor he chooses the occupation he wishes to follow. During his period of instruction he receives from the Government the same allotment and family allowance that he received during his military service. Manufacturing plants, offices, and farms will be pressed into service as training schools, and he will have the same freedom as any other civilian of attending the school or college of his choice. His placement in industry or a profession will be accomplished through the United States Employment Service, and after he is established his interests will be safeguarded by the War-Risk Insurance Bureau and the Board for Vocational Education. A scheme of such scope and value should do much to lessen the dread that must often assail the disabled soldier. Might it not be possible to provide the same service for the able-bodied men that from now on will be flooding back from Europe? They, too, have a claim upon the Government. The problem of the disabled man is only part of the whole.

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Justice to War's Heretics

By NORMAN THOMAS

FEW circumstances have been more heartening to American liberals than our success in creating an army not only of efficient fighters, but of fine upstanding men whose individual welfare is the Government's care. To a considerable degree the War Department's concern for the men under it has extended even to military prisoners and conscientious objectors. Early in the war Secretary Baker assured certain inquirers that he would use the entire weight of his office to avoid those brutalities which have stained the British record in dealing with conscientious objectors. Mr. Baker, I believe, has never lost sight of that promise, yet because of the immensity of the problems with which he must deal, and because of a lack of informed liberal opinion either in the army or among the general public, methods of prison punishment and brutalities in guard houses have been revealed which are a serious blot upon our national reputation. The cure for them rests with those who realize that more than victory over Germany is necessary to secure justice and goodwill among men. It is this which prompts me to call attention to certain evil conditions.

For the most trivial offences against prison discipline a man may be sentenced to solitary confinement for a day or more in the military prisons. For more serious offences he may be sentenced for two weeks at a time, not only to solitary confinement, but to a diet of bread and water, with the additional cruel indignity that his hands may be manacled to the bars of the cell door during the eight hours of the working day. Fully to appreciate what this means one should see the solitary cells in old Castle William, which is now the military prison at Fort Jay, on Governor's Island. On the top tier of this old fort is a large stone vaulted room, whose only window is a small embrasure. Within this vaulted room is a double row of heavy wooden cells, each about seven feet long, four and a half feet wide, and eight feet high, with a small opening at the top, and a barred window, perhaps ten inches square, in the door. The interior of the cells is painted black and in broad daylight the darkness is so great that it is impossible to see in them without striking a light. One of them, when not otherwise occupied, is used as a dark room for the developing of photographs. The cells contain no furniture of any sort whatever, and the prisoner who is sentenced to one of them can take in nothing with him except one blanket. Under these conditions the arrangement, or lack of arrangement, for toilet facilities adds to the inhumanity of the prison. One prisoner reported that the weary hours standing handcuffed to the bars were less of a torture than the armies of vermin at night.

No prisoner in Castle William is kept in solitary confinement under these barbarous conditions for more than two weeks, but if he is still recalcitrant he may be returned to solitary confinement after two weeks' respite, and the punishment continued indefinitely on the basis of two weeks in and two weeks out. Usually, of course, a man gives in, but the military authorities have been faced this summer with a new problem. Three conscientious objectors to participation in the war were sentenced to the prison for twenty- and thirty-year terms, one of them because the Board of Inquiry, after a very brief interview, had decided that he was insincere, the other two because they had refused to be inoculated at Camp Upton. These men declined to work in the prison on the ground that such work aided military operations and recognized the right of the state to conscript their lives; hence, under the rules, they were doomed to an unending course of punishment such as I have described. Even during their two or three weeks' respite they were cut off as much as possible from communication with the other men in the prison and were compelled to prepare their own meals.

As a result of a complaint to the War Department, these three men were transferred to the main disciplinary barracks at Fort Leavenworth, where conditions in the cells are much better. Whether at Leavenworth they agreed to work, I cannot learn. If not they, like others who may refuse, are subject to solitary confinement and to manacling to the bars; and because the cells are more decent they do not receive even the two weeks' respite granted them at Castle William, although every alternate two weeks they receive full prison diet. Of course such treatment can have only one end, the utter breaking of these men in body and mind.

Most brutalities reported from camps occur in guard houses. In many instances the prison stockades are themselves so built as to be both unnecessarily uncomfortable and unsanitary, but the most serious outrages arise from the long confinement of men awaiting court-martial who are left too much to the mercy of the occasional bully among non-commissioned officers. In certain cases there seems to be evidence that even higher officers have ordered or winked at brutal practices whose victims are generally conscientious objectors. It must be said frankly that it is not always easy to deal with this class of men, and few officers have the patience and tact to carry out the liberal spirit of the War Department's orders. In consequence, for reasons or on pretexts too numerous to specify here, many conscientious objectors sooner or later reach the guard house. The most notorious arrests have been at Fort Riley, whose guard house, with that of Camp Funston nearby, has confined a body of more than a hundred conscientious objectors. Most of these men had already been adjudged sincere by the Board of Inquiry appointed by the War Department to pass on this specific question, and many of them had waited months for the farm furloughs which they had been promised. During this time they had been segregated under conditions productive of much irritation. The final offence of the men was their refusal to obey an order which was interpreted to mean that they must on command serve practically as a clean-up squad anywhere within a radius of ten miles of the camp. This they objected to as non-combatant service, which most of them had already refused to accept. It is from the guard house in Fort Riley and Camp Funston and Camp Meade that the worst brutalities have been reported. I have been shown letters and an affidavit from these and other camps complaining that men were bayoneted, clubbed with guns, beaten and robbed by other prisoners or soldiers, hung to the ceiling by painful methods and, above all, tortured by various forms of the water cure. I quote from one sworn statement concerning torture at Fort Riley:

> Mr. K—— was forced to remain seated while cold water was

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poured on to his head. This process was continued until he fainted. Mr. H—— was bound with his arms above his head in a manner so painful that he felt his arms were being broken, and the pain caused him to scream repeatedly. While in this position the hose was played first on one side and then on the other. All this was done under the supervision of the officer of the day by a private who . . . . told Mr. B—— that he hated to do what he was doing but was compelled to obey orders.

Aside from such brutalities there is a great deal of unnecessary hardship due perhaps to the blundering of inexperienced non-commissioned officers or guards. For example, one man well over six feet tall was confined for about a week in a solitary cell six feet by five. For two days he was not allowed even soap or a towel, and it was two weeks before he was permitted to send out any letter. It is restrictions upon reading and writing which are often more keenly felt than even the diet of bread and water. In one guard house, for a considerable period of time, men were allowed to write only one letter a month. In other guard houses the custom seems to be one letter a week. All ingoing mail is censored, and as a rule no reading matter is allowed except the Bible. It is fair to say that the War Department has always investigated every specific report of brutality, but in spite of this fact these outrages seem to have increased rather than diminished within the last three months. More stringent general orders should be issued governing the general management of guard houses, and the length of time between the confinement of prisoners and their trial and sentence by court-martial should be reduced to the lowest possible limits.

But no particular reforms in guard houses will be adequate without more fundamental changes in the procedure for dealing with objectors, and it is that point which deserves the careful attention of those who have the honor of American democracy at heart. As is well known, the War Department has taken the liberal stand of recognizing conscience as an individual matter not to be determined entirely by membership in sects. Therefore its policy has been to offer non-combatant service to men who honestly objected to the taking of human life in war. To those whose objections prevented their becoming parts of the military machine even as non-combatants, farm furloughs have been offered, or in some cases men have been furloughed for the work of the Friends' Reconstruction Unit in France. The right to such furlough is determined by a Board of Inquiry which passes upon the sincerity of the men. While I have seen no absolutely definite figures, it is certain that numerically the problem of the conscientious objector has not been of great dimensions. Probably not more than four or five thousand have accepted non-combatant service; perhaps fifteen hundred have appeared before the Board of Inquiry. Of these about ninety per cent. have been found sincere. The overwhelming majority of the men are members of various religious sects. Some of them seem singularly isolated from the common life of America, but they have the courage of their convictions. A minority is composed of objectors on rationalistic, humanitarian, or nonsectarian Christian grounds.

The chief force in reducing conscientious objection to a minimum has been, not the fear of physical punishment, but the overwhelming weight of social pressure and the almost universal feeling in America that this war is a holy crusade. An official statement of the War Department says frankly:

> Many objectors are not without the courage of their convictions. They would resist compulsion to the end. We might imprison or shoot them. But Prussian practices such as these would hardly appeal in a democracy. On the other hand, a method which conserves the man-power of the nation, and accords to furloughed objectors a lot that is endurable and serviceable, but in no sense pampered, will, it is believed, commend itself to the common sense and practicability of the American people.

The comparatively small number of objectors tends both to encourage the War Department in its shrewd and liberal policy and to simplify the execution of that policy. Nevertheless the administration of this programme is open to improvement at many points, some of which the War Department already has under consideration.

(1.) The period of segregation of objectors awaiting a hearing before the Board of Inquiry should be as short as possible, and the officers in charge of segregated objectors ought to be men of peculiar and approved quality. If such action be taken the number of objectors confined in guard houses and ultimately sentenced to prison will be reduced to a minimum, and the irritation and friction which have prevailed in many camps will be avoided.

(2.) It ought to be made possible for the Board of Inquiry to spend longer time on particular cases and to examine the record of the men in civil life. In the great majority of the earlier cases men were accorded only a three to five-minute interview, but this condition is now being remedied. In some cases those who were adjudged insincere have shown by their courageous endurance of imprisonment that an error was made in judging them.

(3.) Many courts-martial would be avoided if there were a rule that no conscientious objector should be tried until he had been interviewed by the Board of Inquiry. The trouble at present is that impatient officers often act precipitately and have objectors court-martialled for alleged offences when the position of the objectors is not morally different from that of their brethren who under more fortunate circumstances have been awarded furloughs.

There are, however, in the neighborhood of two hundred men court-martialled and sentenced to prison for terms averaging about fifteen years, who never saw the Board of Inquiry. It is understood that the record in their cases is being reviewed by the War Department with the intention of remedying any injustice.

The problem of the little company of "absolutists"—men who have refused alternative service in the form of farm furloughs—is more difficult. They command no popular sympathy; yet they are usually men of intelligence, lofty character, and sincere devotion to the common good. While America has not yet produced an objector of the fame of Stephen Hobhouse, she has men who are his true spiritual comrades.* They take their uncompromising stand because they believe that to accept farm furlough under army authority recognizes the principle of conscription; they cannot admit that the State has a right to the direction of a man's life to such a degree as endangers that freedom which to them is the essential condition of the fellowship of any worthy social order. In slowly increasing numbers these men are being sentenced to the detention barracks for fifteen, twenty and twenty-five years. In many cases the charges against them are based on some technical disobedience but it remains true that practically every one of these men could have escaped by the comparatively easy road of service in a medical corps or on a farm. So long

* These lines were written before the sentencing of Roger Baldwin. His prominence in social work and his statement of his views have attracted wide attention. It should not be forgotten that there are other men less known but not less idealistic who are suffering far heavier punishment.

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as they are confined in a military instead of a civil prison there is danger that, like the three prisoners in the solitary cells at Fort Jay, they will refuse work and so be liable to an indefinite period of solitary confinement. It may be objected that these men are utterly unreasonable or even anti-social. The latter charge is refuted by the actual records of most of them in civil life. In any event is it not absurd that a captain in the United States army, guilty of profiteering, a crime against conscience and patriotism alike, should receive a sentence of two years, whereas these prisoners for conscience' sake are condemned to twenty-five years at hard labor? In England the highest sentence for conscientious objectors has been two years. In Germany, Karl Liebknecht, the celebrated foe to war, was sentenced to four years and has been released. To our absolutists, however mistaken they may be, conscription means putting the State in the place of God. It will be the lasting disgrace of American liberals if in a war for democracy they forget these men. The coming of peace should bring with it the pardon both of these objectors and of political prisoners convicted under the Espionage Act. If they remain in bondage, it will be far less the fault of the Government than of the shameful apathy of American liberals.

The Faith of a Heretic*

By ROGER NASH BALDWIN

I AM before you as a deliberate violator of the Draft Act. . . . The compelling motive for refusing to comply with the Draft Act is my uncompromising opposition to the principle of conscription of life by the State for any purpose whatever, in time of war or peace. I not only refuse to obey the present conscription law, but I would in future refuse to obey any similar statute which attempts to direct my choice of service and ideals. I regard the principle of conscription of life as a flat contradiction of all our cherished ideals of individual freedom, democratic liberty, and Christian teaching.

I am the more opposed to the present act, because it is for the purpose of conducting war. I am opposed to this and all other wars. I do not believe in the use of physical force as a method of achieving any end, however good. . . . My opposition is not only to direct military service, but to any service whatever designed to help prosecute the war. I could accept no service, therefore, under the present act, regardless of its character. . . . I am fully aware that my position is extreme, that it is shared by comparatively few, and that in the present temper it is regarded either as unwarranted egotism or as a species of feeble-mindedness. I cannot, therefore, let this occasion pass without attempting to explain the foundations on which so extreme a view rests.

I have had an essentially American upbringing and background. Born in a suburb of Boston, of the stock of the first settlers, I was reared in the public schools and at Harvard College. Early my mind was caught by the age-old struggle for freedom; America meant to me a vital new experiment in free political institutions; personal freedom to choose one's way of life and service seemed the essence of the liberties brought by those who fled the mediæval and modern tyrannies of the old world. But I rebelled at our whole autocratic industrial system —with its wreckage of poverty, disease, and crime, and childhood robbed of its right to free growth. So I took up social work upon leaving college, going to St. Louis as director of a settlement and instructor in sociology at Washington University. For ten years I have been professionally engaged in social work and political reform, local and national. . . .

Personally I share the extreme radical philosophy of the future society. I look forward to a social order without any external restraints upon the individual, save through public opinion and the opinion of friends and neighbors. I am not a member of any radical organization, nor do I wear any tag by which my views may be classified. I believe that all parts of the radical movement serve the common end—freedom of the individual from arbitrary external controls.

When the war came to America, it was an immediate challenge to me to help protect those ideals of liberty which seemed to me not only the basis of the radical economic view, but of the radical political view of the founders of this republic, and of the whole mediæval struggle for religious freedom. Before the war was declared I severed all my connections in St. Louis, and offered my services to the American Union Against Militarism to help fight conscription. Later that work developed into the National Civil Liberties Bureau, organized to help maintain the rights of free speech and free press, and the Anglo-Saxon tradition of liberty of conscience, through liberal provisions for conscientious objectors. This work has been backed both by pro-war liberals and so-called pacifists. It is not anti-war in any sense. It seemed to me the one avenue of service open to me, consistent with my views, with the country's best interest, and with the preservation of the radical minority for the struggle after the war. Even if I were not a believer in radical theories and movements, I would justify the work I have done on the ground of American ideals and traditions alone—as do many of those who have been associated with me. They have stood for those enduring principles which the revolutionary demands of war have temporarily set aside. We have stood against hysteria, mob-violence, unwarranted prosecution, the sinister use of patriotism to cover attacks on radical and labor movements, and for the unabridged right of a fair trial under war statutes. We have tried to keep open those channels of expression which stand for the kind of world order for which the President is battling to-day against the tories and militarists.

Now comes the Government to take me from that service and to demand of me a service I cannot in conscience undertake. I refuse it simply for my own peace of mind and spirit, for the satisfaction of that inner demand more compelling than any considerations of punishment or the sacrifice of friendships and reputation.

I seek no martyrdom, no publicity. I merely meet as squarely as I can the moral issue before me, regardless of consequences. . . . I am not complaining for myself or others. I am merely advising the Court that I understand full well the penalty of my heresy, and am prepared to pay it. The conflict with conscription is irreconcilable. Even the liberalism of the President and Secretary of War in dealing with objectors leads those of us who are "absolutists" to a punishment longer and severer than that of desperate criminals.

But I believe most of us are prepared even to die for our faith, just as our brothers in France are dying for theirs. To them we are comrades in spirit—we understand one another's motives, though our methods are wide apart. We both share deeply the common experience of living up to the truth as we see it, whatever the price.

Though at the moment I am of a tiny minority, I feel myself part of a great revolt surging up from among the people—the struggle of the masses against the rule of the world by the few—profoundly intensified by the war. It is a struggle against the political State itself, against exploitation, militarism, imperialism, authority in all forms. It is a struggle to break in full force only after the war. Russia already stands in the vanguard, beset by her enemies in the camps of both belligerents; the Central Empires break asunder from within; the labor movement gathers revolutionary force in Britain; and in our own country the Non-partisan League, radical labor, and the Socialist party hold the germs of a new social order. Their protest is my protest. Mine is a personal protest at a particular law, but it is backed by all the aspirations and ideals of the struggle for a world freed of our manifold slaveries and tyrannies.

I ask the Court for no favor. I could do no other than what I have done, whatever the Court's decree. I have no bitterness or hate in my heart for any man. Whatever the penalty, I shall endure it, firm in the faith that whatever befalls me, the principles in which I believe will bring forth out of this misery and chaos a world of brotherhood, harmony, and freedom for each to live the truth as he sees it.

*An address to the Court on the occasion of Mr. Baldwin's being sentenced for violation of the Selective Service Act, October 30, 1918.

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"University of Michigania"

By L. F. ANDERSON

THE strange terminology of the act of 1817 of the Territorial Legislature of Michigan creating the "University of Michigania" or the "Catholepistemiad" has lain these many years across the path of the student of our educational history as an isolated, an unexplained, and hence rather irritating fact. The ponderous titles of the institution and of its "didaxia" or professorships of "Anthropoglossica," "Physiognostica," "Physiosophia," "Polemitactica," "Diegetica," etc., have usually been considered as reflections of the eccentricity of Judge A. B. Woodward, the framer of the act. There is little doubt as to the eccentricity of Judge Woodward.* But the explanation of the pedantic and sesquipedalian verbiage of the act lies deeper than this. As in other instances which might be cited from the same period, what seems at first to be merely a product of the freakishness of an individual turns out upon investigation to be representative of more or less general tendencies in the life of the time.

The wording of the act was not due to any sudden whim of its author, for he had been engaged for many years in building up a new system of nomenclature as the counterpart of a new system of classification of the sciences. Only a few months previously he had published the results of his labors in a work entitled "A System of Universal Science," with the alternative title, "Encatholepistemia." Nor was Woodward an innovator in attempting these improvements in terminology. He certainly did not feel himself to be such. His attitude is that of one taking part in a movement already well under way. In the book just mentioned he had written:

> A sort of universal and scientific language is now rising infinitely better than that which the philosophic bishop of Chester would have devised; a language possessed of what would have been deemed incompatible qualities, uniformity and variety, stability and flexibility: and as intelligible as it is accurate.†

The work, moreover, reveals the fact that numerous American scholars coöperated with its author in the construction of the new table of nomenclature which it contains.

It is, further, a significant fact that during the year in which Woodward's "Encatholepistemia" saw the light, 1816, at least two other works appeared, each presenting a new classification of the sciences provided with an original system of nomenclature derived from the Greek. These were Jeremy Bentham's "Chrestomathia" and the Abbé Mango's "Acrosophia."‡ A brief extract from each will suffice for purposes of comparison.

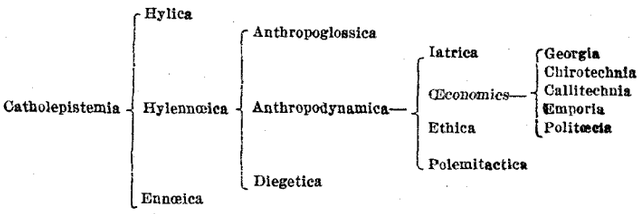
The Abbé Mango's table, like Bentham's, was constructed on the dichotomous or bifurcate plan. No attempt will be made to introduce even part of it in tabular form. Among its major divisions of the field of learning are Theosophy, Ontognostics, and Theoctistics. These include subdivisions designated by such terms as Pancratics, Panagatics, Monadics, Somatics, and Cosmognostics.

*In a public statement issued by Woodward on the occasion of one of his numerous candidacies he says: "It is said that I am eccentric. This is a fault and it is a small one." Cf. Michigan Pioneer Collections, XII, 530.

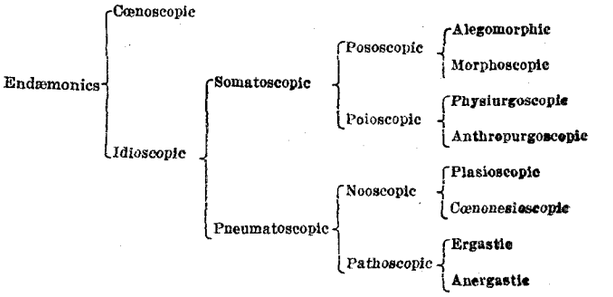
†Woodward, A. B. A System of Universal Science. Phila., 1816, p. 173.

‡Extracts from this work are printed in Woodward's "System of Universal Science," p. 230. It had apparently been brought to Woodward's attention by C. F. Rafinesque, himself the author of "An Analysis of Nature" which, according to the former, was "adorned with a rich store of new terms, principally of Grecian etymology." Woodward, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-212.

The following is a copy of Woodward's Table of the Nomenclature of the Sciences. No. 1. (Extract.)



Bentham's Encyclopædic Tables. (Extract.)



In order that the reader may see for himself how far from unique are the tendencies disclosed in Judge Woodward's work, extracts from his table and from that of Bentham are here presented in outline form. The similarity is striking.

Woodward ascribes the awakening of his interest in the problem of classification and of nomenclature to the reading in 1788 of the concluding chapter of the "Essay on the Human Understanding," in which Locke divides the field of science into three departments which he designates, respectively, by the Greek terms Physica, Practica, and Semiotica. Of the various factors which contributed subsequently to stimulate this interest three stand out as especially influential: the discussion of the classification of the sciences by the editors of the great French and British encyclopædias, the achievements of Linnæus and certain of the French chemists, and the influence of Jefferson.

D'Alembert in his preface to the "Dictionnaire Encyclopédique," issued in 1754, had presented his "Système Figuré des Connoissances Humaines," based upon Bacon's classification.* The example thus set was followed by others. Dugald Stewart on November 15, 1812, advised Constable, the publisher, to preface the forthcoming edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" with a "general map of the various departments of human knowledge" similar to "the excellent discourse prefixed by D'Alembert to the French Encyclopédie." Stewart's suggestion was acted upon and he himself was induced to undertake the task. Instead, however, of making "a general map of the sciences," he restricted himself to pointing out the great imperfections in those of Bacon and D'Alembert and expressed a doubt "whether the period be yet arrived for hazarding again with any reasonable prospect of success a repetition of their bold experiment."

D'Alembert and Stewart, while they directed general attention to the problem of classification, gave little or no heed to what was frequently considered a correlative problem, that of nomenclature. The brilliant achievements of

*Jefferson in a letter to Woodward dated March 24, 1824, points out that the essential feature of Bacon's system, that of basing the classification of the sciences upon an analysis of the mental faculties, originated not with him, but with Charron, who proposes this plan in his *De la Sagesse*, Bk. 1, Chap. 14.

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Linnæus, however, lay in both fields. And these, together with the example set by Lavoisier and other French chemists, seem to have constituted one of Woodward's chief sources of inspiration in the prosecution of his task. His admiration of Linnæus is unbounded.

> The naturalist of Sweden has assumed one of the highest stations on the throne of intellectual glory. The world will forever regard with veneration and with wonder those powerful and successful efforts which called natural history from an embryotic and misshaped state into form and regularity and beauty.*

What especially appeals to the admiration of Woodward, however, are the achievements of Linnæus in deriving from the Greek a system of scientific nomenclature. He writes:

> The genius and intrepidity of Linnæus have rendered a dead language of more service in living hands to science than are all the writings which it contains. . . . Of the scientific purposes to which the Greek language was capable of being applied the learned world were by no means sensible until the brilliant examples of Linnæus and of the chemists of France had been displayed.†

Elsewhere Woodward specifically defines the relation of his undertaking to that of these eminent scientists.

> We are all witnesses of the force imparted by the botanical and by the chemical classification and nomenclature. To do for all the sciences what was in those instances done for two particular sciences is the object of this enterprise.‡

Perhaps the most direct, however, of those influences which account for Woodward's activity in these fields was that of the patron to whom he owed his appointment to the bench of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Michigan, Thomas Jefferson. So profuse is Woodward in the expression, in his "System of Universal Science," of his admiration for his benefactor that he calls forth a rebuke from his reviewer. On different occasions Jefferson had been led to attack the problem of the classification of the sciences. To an adequate description of these activities of his patron Woodward finds it necessary to devote no less than thirteen pages of his "System of Universal Science."** Even more marked was Jefferson's interest in nomenclature. He was an ardent advocate of the enrichment not merely of our technical vocabularies, but of our ordinary speech through the introduction of new words. His views on this point find rather frequent expression in his correspondence. The most elaborate statement of them is to be found, perhaps, in his letter to John Waldo, dated August 16, 1813:

> I am no friend to what is called *Purism*, but a zealous one to the *Neology* which has introduced these two words without the authority of any dictionary. I consider the one as destroying the nerve and beauty of language, while the other improves both and adds to its copiousness.

It is peculiarly fitting, he argues, that Americans should assert their freedom from the tyranny of convention and should through the free introduction of new words develop a language peculiarly their own.

> Certainly so great growing a population, spread over such an extent of country, with such a variety of climates, of productions, of arts, must enlarge their language to make it answer its purpose of expressing all ideas, the new as well as the old. The new circumstances in which we are placed, call for new words, new phrases, and for the transfer of old words to new objects.

Towards the close of his long letter he illustrates the possibilities of the enrichment of the English language by taking the English root "place" and its equivalents from the Latin and Greek, respectively, and combining them with various prefixes. In this way he forms long lists, including such words as amphithesis, ecthesis, parathesis, hyperthesis.

Woodward's work affords direct evidence of his consultations with Jefferson in the construction of his neologisms. Nor were these confined to his tables of the nomenclature of the sciences. Quite in accordance with the suggestions of his patron, he employs in his non-technical vocabulary such specimens as dubiety, ecpyrosis, adyta, andrapodistic, entomic, catachretic. He admits that certain of these words had been deliberately invented and employed in flat defiance of the pretensions of the autocrats of the *Edinburgh Review*.*

Such are some of the facts which, I believe, should be taken into consideration by all who would read intelligently the act creating the University of Michigania, an act which figures so prominently in the early history of our American State universities. The act reflects in its strange terminology as well as in its provision for centralized educational control, tendencies clearly traceable in the intellectual life of the time.

*Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 370. There is some evidence that the tendency towards what Jefferson called "neology" affected others than the members of the learned classes. An advertisement, for instance, inserted in the *United States Gazette*, March 26, 1817, by certain young ladies actively interested in the cause of universal education, informs us that they had organized themselves into the Female Paididaskiek [*sic*] Society of Smyrna, Pa.

The Mennonite Problem in Canada

By J. A. STEVENSON

THE sect of Mennonites may be familiar to few people east of the Mississippi but on the Western prairies of the United States and Canada it is as well known as are the Mormons. Its founder was a certain Menno Simons, who collected a band of followers in Holland in the sixteenth century, and won their allegiance to tenets roughly resembling those of the Quaker creed. The sect overflowed the boundaries of the Netherlands and in the seventeenth century its members were numerous in Germany, being seventy thousands in Moravia alone. Wherever they settled, their Dutch thrift and industry caused the wilderness to blossom as a rose, but in 1789, having refused to undertake military service, they were forbidden to hold land. Catharine II of Russia, who was anxious to acquire a leaven of such excellent industrious folk as an example and stimulus to her Russian peasantry, invited the Mennonites to Russia in 1786 and cheerfully promised them immunity from the military service which they detested. They accepted the invitation and migrated to form a series of prosperous colonies in Southern Russia, but in 1870 the Russian Imperial Government issued an edict putting a ten years' limit to their exemption from military service. The Mennonites, however, were permitted to leave Russia within this ten years and, as a result of the reports furnished by reconnoitring agents, decided to cross the Atlantic. Many contingents settled in the south-western States of the Union but a large colony went direct to Canada in the years 1874-1879. The Canadian Government, which at that time was anxious to attract settlers to the western prairies, offered special conditions

*Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
†*Ibid.*, p. 173.
‡*Ibid.*, p. 204.
**Pp. 212-225.

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to the Mennonite bands and allocated to them for settlement twenty-five townships in Southern Manitoba. The Mennonites were allowed the privilege of retaining their own schools and preserving their own economic organization, which was largely communistic. Their internal finance has for generations been conducted successfully by coöperative credit societies conducted under the ægis of their church. They were hardworking industrious people and, while their farming methods were far from perfect, they soon brought a large territory under cultivation and erected substantial buildings on their farms. About twenty-five years ago they began to abandon their communistic ideas and permit individual ownership of property, though they wisely preserved their excellent credit organizations.

When the American invasion of western Canada began, other Mennonites moved north. They acquired farm lands throughout the West, and according to the census of 1916 there were twenty thousand of them in the Province of Saskatchewan, while the Manitoba settlement was twice as large. Their language is a Low German dialect into which extraneous words have crept during their wanderings. Many of them were gradually breaking away from the peculiar religious observances originally demanded, but two tenets of their faith have been rigidly preserved: a disinclination to take oaths and an absolute refusal to engage in war. The early religious unity, too, had been broken up by schisms and, as no central authority is recognized, a strange variety of weird doctrines are found to flourish under the shelter of the Mennonite faith. Economically the Mennonites have been most useful assets in the development of the West, but politically and socially the benefits of their presence are less marked. Their leaders have steadily set their faces against all Canadianizing influences, and have striven during their forty-five years' residence in Canada to maintain their particularist system.

When the Military Service Act of 1917 was passed, it magnanimously granted immunity to all designated as Mennonites and honored the pledge of by-gone Governments. The Mennonites, however, were required to register, and a large number took this step. It happens that western Canada has a very cosmopolitan population and the draft was not popular in certain rural districts. Here was a fine opportunity for religious proselytism; itinerant preachers began to scatter broadcast certificates of membership in the Mennonite church and levy blackmail from their flocks and neighbors by way of assisting young men to evade the draft. Armed with a certificate of Mennonite membership, the bearer can defy compulsory military service under the Treaty of 1873. The Mennonite pastors, in short, transformed themselves into "one-man exemption tribunals" and generated a remarkable revival of religious fervor in many western communities. Complaints were made by indignant patriots, but Ministers at Ottawa shifted the blame on one another.

The matter might not have given rise to any considerable agitation had not other developments occurred. In the administration of the American draft law, scant respect was paid to Mennonite susceptibilities, and the brethren dwelling across the line began to cast envious eyes at the protection which the Canadian Mennonites enjoyed. Emigration northward looked attractive, and there is reason to believe that it was sedulously encouraged by enterprising Canadian real-estate agents. Plans were accordingly laid for an exodus of American Mennonites to seek sanctuary in Western Canada. A variety of elements there are deeply interested in an inflow of immigrants, and pressure was brought to bear upon the Department of Immigration to issue a letter inviting the American Mennonites to come north and promising them immunity from military service. The influx was small at first, but it gradually assumed large proportions. The Mennonites are a wealthy community with a good credit system, and they were able to secure large areas of excellent land. As soon as the extent of this Mennonite migration was realized there was a general outcry in the West, where the community is already alarmed lest the heavy casualties among the British elements who enlisted may leave the alien stocks in a permanent majority. Mr. Calder, the Minister of Immigration, was violently assailed during his recent tour of the West, by the Great War Veterans' Associations, boards of trade, and other public bodies. He made the defence that these emigrants were American citizens against whom no barrier could be erected. He pointed out that they were still liable to the provisions of the United States Selective Service Act, under the terms of what is known as the "Slackers" Treaty, and that they could not acquire full rights of Canadian citizenship until they had resided five years in Canada. However, his critics now point out that the regulations of the military service conventions afford a loophole to the invading Mennonites in stating that "United States citizens are hereby made subject and liable to military service in Canada and they shall be entitled to exemptions or to discharge therefrom under the laws and regulations governing the military service now or from time to time in Canada." Hence the contention arises that these Mennonite emigrants enjoy the privileges of Canadian citizens before they have acquired that status. Here the matter still stands, but it seems probable that the Government will be forced to prohibit the migration of the Mennonites from the States. Fuel has been added to the flames by the statement of a prominent leader of a large colony who declared, "We are not a religious sect, we are a nationality: we are German."

As long as the Mennonites were regarded merely as Russian Quakers their presence would have been tolerable, but the moment they proclaimed themselves Germans it became another matter. The outcry which is now in full force is directed against both German and Russian nationals, and the Government has just passed a very rigorous Order-in-Council (See *Nation* of November 2, p. 532) repressing a large number of societies formed by alien immigrants. The organizations chiefly affected are those of the various Russian nationalities, and participation in their activities is now subject to a penalty of five thousand dollars. Whether this measure will increase the popularity of the British in Russia is a matter of considerable doubt, but popular sentiment certainly demanded some such step. The inhabitants of Canada have long been suspicious that the task of assimilating their non-British stocks might cause racial indigestion for a period, and the parties who demand stern action against any alien particularism have drawn inspiration from the attitude of the American people in this respect. As long as the war lasts scant toleration will be shown towards foreign organizations, and a cold welcome will be offered to the influx of sects like the Mennonites who are not solidly enthusiastic in their support of the Allied cause.

The problem of dealing with the Mennonites is one of the many puzzling tasks that will confront Canadian statesmen in the years that are immediately ahead.

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Foreign Correspondence

AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN JAPAN

Tokio, Sept. 16

"AMERICAN Influence in Japan" is a broad topic, one aspect of which was impressed upon me in a recent trip to the northern island of Hokkaido. The occasion was the Semi-Centennial Exposition at Sapporo (the capital of Hokkaido) organized to celebrate the semi-centenary (by the Japanese inclusive method of counting) of the "opening" of Hokkaido in 1869. It was then, just after the revolution which restored the executive authority to the Emperor, that the island of Yezo was renamed "Hokkaido" (Northern Sea Road) and placed under a special administration.

The administrative body of the new-old "territory" was called *Kaitakushi*, which means literally "opening-settling-commission." The chief commissioner, or "governor," was General Kiyotaka Kuroda, a man of vision; he not only discovered the unexpected resources of the island (which had been a *terra incognita*), but also foresaw its great possibilities. He found the soil fertile and the country immensely rich in natural resources. The greatest need was for development, and that required not merely men but also wisdom. He therefore visited America in 1870-1871 and studied American success in "opening up" the Western States.

Governor Kuroda, upon his return to Japan, drew up a memorial to the Emperor and emphasized therein three things. First, observing that colonization was successful only under trained leadership, he advised his people to secure the services of the best leader to be found, from whatever source and without any regard for cost. Second, he saw that the school-house always followed the explorer and the settler, and he urged his government to establish a school whose special function should be to train young settlers. Third, he could not fail to notice "the place of elevation and respect which is held in America by women"; and "he recommended that a number of young girls be sent to America for training, to return later on and become mothers in the infant colony."* It is interesting to note that, while all his recommendations were carried out, in the third case, the girls sent to America in 1872 with the Iwakura Embassy for education did not become mothers in the "infant colony," but, in the persons of Miss Ume Tsuda, Baroness Uriu, and Princess Oyama, became the chief leaders in female advancement throughout the whole Empire.

In accordance with General Kuroda's first recommendation, General Horace Capron, then Commissioner of Agriculture in Washington, D. C., came to Japan as adviser to the Colonial Office, with three other Americans. And, during the next decade, General Kuroda invited from abroad seventy-five persons, of whom forty-five were Americans.† Among them was Colonel Crawford, an American engineer, who, among other achievements, constructed the first railroad line in Hokkaido.

The most extensive and intensive piece of work of these Americans was the establishment of an agricultural college in Sapporo. To that institution came Dr. W. S. Clark, then President of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, lent to Japan for only one year. In that short period, however, he made a lasting impression upon Japan and the Japanese. For he was a man strong, not only in his executive ability and his power as a teacher, but also in his personal influence upon students.

American influence was manifested even in the laying out of Sapporo, the new capital. It was a "fiat city," laid out in American fashion (not Bostonian!) with straight, wide streets, and with a better system of sewerage than was then (or is now) common in Japan. Moreover, it was General Capron who advised the Japanese to build solid and substantial dwelling-houses after the American style, with window-panes instead of the paper windows still commonly used in Japan. Such a construction was necessary because of the long and severe winter, like that of New England.

The farms of Hokkaido also had Americanized buildings; and they raised crops of American grains, grasses, vegetables, and fruits, and used American agricultural machines. It was Americans, too, who introduced live-stock breeding and dairying. For instance, it was Mr. Edwin Dun, who later entered the service of the United States Government and rose to be Minister to Japan, who taught the Japanese in Hokkaido how to make butter! The agricultural methods of Hokkaido were at first nothing but the American system in miniature.

The Agricultural College at Sapporo was constructed along American lines; its campus is the only one in Japan that reminds a visitor of an American college. And, while the institution was primarily an agricultural college, yet it was not a narrowly specialized school, but aimed also at general culture and mental discipline. Dr. Clark, upon leaving Sapporo, gave the students one parting sentence, "Boys, be ambitious!" This became a proverb in the school, was adopted as its motto, and appears in the letters "B. B. A." on its "coat of arms." A noble ambition is the Sapporo ideal.

A result of the Sapporo training and ideal is displayed in the versatility of its alumni. One of its early graduates is Dr. Nitobe, first exchange lecturer to the United States and author of "Bushido" and "The Japanese Nation." Dr. Sato, second exchange lecturer and president of his alma mater, now raised to the rank of an Imperial University, is another. Others are Ito, oil expert and temperance leader; Miyabe, botanist; Hiroi, civil engineer; and Minami, agricultural authority. There are two Watase brothers: the elder a prominent business man of Tokyo and a member of the business commission to the United States in 1911; and the younger a biologist formerly on the faculty of the University of Chicago. Shiga is a historian and archæologist; and Sakuma is an expert in chronology and calendars. Hayakawa is another leading business man of Tokio. Zumoto is editor of the *Herald of Asia* (an English weekly) and a member of the House of Representatives. Arishima is a literary man who is said to rank next to Tokutomi, the first novelist of the present day. Uchimura is a Christian leader, a Japanese Puritan, famous as a preacher, and editor of a magazine called *"Bible Study,"* which has a large circulation, especially among students. His book (English) entitled "How I Became a Christian" is a remarkable record of the religious experiences of the so-called "Sapporo Band" of Christians, converted under the leadership of President Clark, who had a Bible class in his own home.

*These quotations are from a very interesting "Historical Sketch" of the Sapporo Agricultural College by Dr. Morimoto. Some later quotations are from a monograph by President Sato on "American Influence upon the Agriculture of Hokkaido, Japan." Those who are interested in further details should consult those publications, procurable upon application to the authors at Sapporo.

†Others were Russian, English, German, Dutch, and French.

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It should, perhaps, be added that the early Sapporo graduates were and are unusually strong in English, because their class-room work was chiefly done by foreign teachers speaking English, and their textbooks and reference books were principally in English. Now Japanese is used more largely than English.

An unexpected by-product, not of Sapporo Agricultural College, but of the *Kaitakushi*, appears in connection with the unfortunate ending of the latter. We had received 1,000,000 yen per year of subsidy for ten years; and, at the end of that period, it was proposed to transfer all its establishments to a private company composed of the members of the colonization commission, for less than 1,000,000 yen! Okuma (now a Marquis) was then Finance Minister; he made himself very popular by exposing this "graft." While riding on this wave of popularity he addressed to the Emperor a memorial praying for the establishment of a National Assembly in 1883. Although, the Government was not ready to grant the petition for so early a date, it could not ignore the memorial; and in 1889 the Emperor issued a rescript in which he promised to establish a parliament in 1890. Thus, just as God maketh even the wrath of man to praise Him, so the inglorious attempt at graft in connection with the *Kaitakushi* was used to the glory of the movement for constitutionalism in Japan.

This sketch is not exhaustive, it is only suggestive of something not superficial or temporary, but pervasive and permanent. To quote once more from the "Historical Sketch":

> Thus from the center which was so firmly formed in Sapporo by a band of well-chosen American scholars, the waves of their influence have radiated all over Japan in the last forty years, in the shape of undaunted practical as well as scholarly men. They have served to encourage mutual understanding between Japan and America and thus to insure mutual friendship between the two countries. ERNEST W. CLEMENT

The New Dutch Cabinet

The Hague, September 15

ON September 9 the official *State Courant* published the names of the Ministers in the new Government, more than two months after the retiring Cabinet had sent in its resignation. A general fear of responsibility was the cause of this unusual delay. In a non-belligerent country, which knows not the glory but only the deprivations of war, a ruler has to expect slight recognition of his toil. The leading statesmen, honored for their service in the past, do not feel tempted by a power whose exercise can not add to, but will almost certainly diminish, their established fame. And so the country, deprived of the leadership which it might have claimed from the best of its sons, is forced to entrust its fate to the guidance of lesser men who, unchecked by the risk of losing a name not yet won, do not resist the spur of ambition.

Thus it happened that, after the most eminent statesmen of the three clerical parties had either failed or refused to form a cabinet, Her Majesty was compelled to entrust that task to Mr. Ruys de Beerenbrouck, a Roman Catholic politician of less ability and influence than Monsignor Nolens, the acknowledged leader of his party. It is true that the latter has been trying for weeks to execute the mandate given him by the Queen, but that he did not succeed is said to be due to his shirking the responsibility of the Premiership, a most unusual deviation from the established constitutional rule that the man who forms the Cabinet becomes by that very fact Prime Minister in the new Government. It is easy to guess why he could not induce another man of his party to accept the Premiership in a Cabinet not of his own making. The statesman who became Prime Minister on those terms would be looked upon as the dummy of the Monsignore, who would enjoy all the power and escape all the blame which its exercise might incur. So, having vainly sought for the obliging man of straw, he begged Her Majesty to discharge him. His task was then offered to Jonkheer de Savornin Lohman, the leader of the Christian Historicals, the smallest of the three parties constituting the right block.

That Mr. de Beerenbroucke was called upon before Dr. Abraham Kuyper, the leader of the orthodox Calvinists, who as a party come next in importance to the Roman Catholics, is less unconstitutional than it seems. Dr. Kuyper has, from the beginning of the war, professed himself a stanch believer in the righteousness of the German cause. His merits as an advocate of Prussianism have been duly acknowledged by the Kaiser, who, on his eightieth birthday, in October, 1917, sent him a tribute of flowers accompanied by a congratulatory message in his own august handwriting. This unneutral attitude, in defiance of the inmost feelings of the great body of the people, have made him unpopular at home and entirely unfit to be Prime Minister in a Cabinet whose chief duty will be the strict maintenance of the country's neutrality. Dr. Kuyper himself, either from actual fear of the responsibility, or from a realization that the grapes hung too high for him, had declared them to be sour long before Monsignor Nolens had begged for his discharge. Immediately after the elections in the beginning of July he counselled his party not to become responsible for the Government. When Mr. de Savornin Lohman had begged to be excused on the plea of his advanced age, one of Dr. Kuyper's ablest followers, Mr. Colijn, was charged with the formation of a Cabinet, but, evidently in obedience to the great leader's watchword, he also declined to resume the Monsignore's unfinished task. So after the great had been called upon in vain, the lesser man came to the fore. And Mr. Ruys de Beerenbrouck, not shirking the Premiership which his acceptance of Her Majesty's mandate involved, was more successful than the leader of his party.

The new Premier must be admired for the courage which his betters lacked, at a juncture when personal considerations should have yielded to the country's urgent need of their service. It may be taken as a proof of his cleverness or his modesty that he has brought together a combination of men among whom he himself is the least prominent personality. A conscientious functionary, a good orator, a warm-hearted benefactor of the Belgian refugees—such are the commendations bestowed on the new Prime Minister by the press. The reception of the Cabinet as a whole by the non-clerical papers has been cold and full of reserve. And even *De Standaard*, the special organ of Dr. Kuyper, whose party is represented in the new Cabinet by the Ministers of Justice, Finance, and Colonies, has tempered its praise of the Premier's combination with ifs and buts that sound little encouraging: "If only the independent position of our Calvinist party remain intact, the new Cabinet will be welcomed by us with no small satisfaction. We wish to abstain from detailed criticism if it only be clearly admitted that this is not a coalition Cabinet of the clerical parties but—a

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thing never witnessed before in this country—a Cabinet under Papal auspices." Thus the great Calvinist statesman repudiates beforehand all responsibility of his party for the errors in which three of his followers, as members of this Government, may be involved. This attitude of the leader bodes little good for the harmony between the three Calvinist ministers and their four Roman Catholic colleagues and that at a time when the Cabinet has little else to rely upon than its own homogeneity.

The Ministry cannot count on a majority in the Second Chamber. At the late elections the right parties secured together just fifty of the hundred seats, the other fifty being divided among Socialists, Liberals, and various minor groups and factions. The right has the advantage over the left of not being split up into so many dissenting minorities; this is the reason why the clerical parties were called to power. But it is a precarious power that has to be carefully handled. The slightest symptom of dissension among the members of the Cabinet will unbalance its position, and it is of bad omen that the leader of one of the clerical parties seems bent upon disturbing the necessary unanimity at the outset.

The uncertainty of its position may keep the new Ministry from the fault committed by its stronger predecessor of trying to rule unchecked by parliamentary control. Its lease of life will to a large extent depend on the Ministers' willingness to take the Chamber into their confidence. The late elections have shown that the nation will not suffer its chosen representatives to let the right of control be taken out of their hands. The Liberals, who in the last Second Chamber were easily the strongest party and, consequently, were held chiefly responsible for the feeble attitude of that assembly, lost no fewer than twenty-four of their thirty-nine seats at the July poll. This will have been a lesson to the newly elected representatives, who, apart from the fear of losing their constituents' confidence, have yet another cause for insisting on their right of joint rule. There is a general feeling that the brilliant successes of the Allied armies at the west front will not fail to react upon the international position of this country.

The conduct of Holland's foreign affairs will, consequently, require even more cautious management and consideration than it ever did in Minister Loudon's days of office. The new dignitary, Mr. Van Karnebeek, is a man of undeniable gifts, which he had ample opportunity of evincing as Burgomaster of The Hague. As a diplomat he is not, indeed, "nourri dans le sérail," but his articles on international law and his report on the laws and usages of sea warfare, which he wrote as a member of the Netherlands delegation to the second Hague Conference in 1907, bear testimony to his knowledge of the problems of his department. Mr. Van Karnebeek is the only member of the new Cabinet who does not belong to one of the three clerical parties that may justly claim this Government as theirs, whatever Dr. Kuyper is pleased to say. But in spite of his being a Liberal, it is the Liberal papers that have received with the greatest reserve the news of his appointment. They regretted it because of his pro-German sympathies, which, as an aspirant to diplomatic distinction, he should have better concealed. The danger is not in Mr. Van Karnebeek's being misled by his sympathies into a one-sided policy; as he is too cool-headed a tactician and too good a patriot not to realise the recklessness of such a course. It lies rather in the suspicion of the Allied Governments, which even the most punctilious impartiality on his part may find it difficult to dispel. Mr. Van Karnebeek himself will doubtless recognize that the surest way to win their confidence is by the most open dealings with the States-General. As long as the chosen representatives of the nation, which, barring a small minority of intellectuals and aristocrats, condemns the excesses of Prussian militarism as wholeheartedly as does the democracy of the United States, keep the conduct of Holland's international affairs under their constant control, the Allied Governments will have little cause for distrust.

A. J. BARNOUW.

In the Driftway

ROGER NASH BALDWIN'S sentence to one year's imprisonment in a penitentiary was in a sense a relief to his friends. They had feared that he would be turned over to the army and sentenced to the usual twenty-five or thirty years which is the penalty of those who refuse to violate their consciences in the matter of taking military service. Mr. Baldwin's attitude was so impressive in court that for once the New York newspapers treated him with respect and quoted somewhat from his address to the court, part of which the *Nation* reprints elsewhere. How much misery and suffering would have been avoided if Congress had made provision for conscientious objectors who are not members of special sects such as Quakers and Mennonites! As it is, many a man of fine spirit like Mr. Baldwin is behind the bars—in some cases manacled to the doors of dark cells in the old manner of Siberia. How will they come out, these men who ought to play a large part in the reorganization of America—embittered, or broken, or hopeless? If any emerges with spirit undimmed it should be Roger Baldwin. I never met a more socially-minded, more useful, or more patriotically devoted American. A Harvard graduate, formerly instructor in sociology at Washington University, St. Louis, and secretary of the City Club there, Mr. Baldwin has lived only to serve others. Surely no man ever faced a sentence more calmly, and the judge was quite right when he said that if there were many such it would have been difficult to carry on the war. I wonder if the judge could possibly realize the peace and contentment which come to a man like Mr. Baldwin when he has taken the supreme stand and accepted the full penalty?

* * * * *

That such splendid human material as this must be treated like an ordinary criminal, is pretty clear proof that we ought to have still another prison reform—the installation of a division of political prisoners. In England this separate classification has long existed; it was a bone of contention in the battle for suffrage prior to the war as to whether the militant suffragettes should rank as political prisoners or not, and the question comes up constantly in connection with the imprisonment of Irishmen. If we are going to follow in the footsteps of Europe and punish men for their state of mind, it would be well to imitate the European nations also in their special classifications of prisoners. I cannot believe that these hundreds of our young men now in jail, however misguided they may be, will be allowed to serve out their sentences. The brutalities which many have endured alone entitle them to early pardon. But whether they are pardoned or not, the Drifter cannot but recall some lines written in jail by a conscientious objector to slavery who

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lived to see his reform achieved, and who is now enshrined as one of our national heroes:

High walls and huge the *Body* may confine,
And iron grates obstruct the prisoner's gaze,
And massive bolts may baffle his design,
And vigilant keepers watch his devious ways;
Yet scorns th' immortal *Mind* this base control.
No chains can bind it, and no cell enclose:
Swifter than light, it flies from pole to pole,
And, in a flash, from earth to heaven it goes.
It leaps from mount to mount—from vale to vale
It wanders, plucking honeyed fruits and flowers;
It visits home, to hear the fireside tale,
Or in sweet converse pass the joyous hours:
'Tis up before the sun, roaming afar,
And in its watches, wearies every star.

* * * * *

There appears to be much mystery as to the future movements of Lord Reading. It has always seemed to me strange that the Lord Chief Justice of England could also be Ambassador to the United States, but Lord Reading was very proud of the duality of his office-holding and, I noticed, referred to it in his various Commencement addresses last summer. His return to England was unexpected and the length of his stay is still more so. His absence, indeed, in these critical times shows how small a part the Allied diplomats are playing in these crucial hours when the world-war is drawing to its close. Now I hear from London that it has, after all, been discovered that an active Chief Justice is essential in England. Therefore, it is believed that Lord Reading will resign the Chief Justiceship very soon. But that does not mean that he will return to Washington—at least not for any length of time, if at all. On the contrary, in the middle of October the lobby of the House of Commons had it that Lord Reading was slated for "important work connected with the Foreign Office." It will be interesting to see if this has any connection with the Peace Conference. His Jewish blood would give peculiar significance to his appearance at the peace table. THE DRIFTER

The Flying Dutchman

By EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON

UNYIELDING in the pride of his defiance,
Afloat with none to serve or to command,
Lord of himself at last, and all by Science,
He seeks the Vanished Land.

Alone, by the one light of his one thought,
He steers to find the shore from which we came—
Fearless of in what coil he may be caught
On seas that have no name.

Into the night he sails; and after night
There is a dawning, though there be no sun.
Wherefore, with nothing but himself in sight,
Unsighted, he sails on.

At last there is a lifting of the cloud
Between the flood before him and the sky;
And then—though he may curse the Power aloud
That has no power to die—

He steers himself away from what is haunted
By the old ghost of what has been before—
Abandoning, as always, and undaunted,
One fog-walled island more.

Correspondence

Gissing as a Prophet

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft*, written over ten years before the outbreak of the present war, George Gissing has the following interesting comment concerning military conscription in England, and the spirit of militarism:

"Some one, I see, is lifting up his sweet voice in praise of Conscription. It is only at long intervals that one reads this kind of thing in our reviews or newspapers, and I am happy in believing that most English people are affected by it even as I am, with the sickness of dread and of disgust. That the thing is impossible in England, who would venture to say? Every one who thinks at all sees how slight are our safeguards against that barbaric force in man which the privileged races have so slowly and painfully brought into check. Democracy is full of menace to all the finer hopes of civilization, and the revival, in not unnatural companionship with it, of monarchic power based on militarism, makes the prospect dubious enough. There has but to arise some Lord of Slaughter, and the nations will be tearing at each other's throats. . . . From a certain point of view, it would be better far that England should bleed under conquest than that she should be saved by eager, or careless, acceptance of Conscription. That view will not be held by the English people; but it would be a sorry thing for England if the day came when no one of those who love her harboured such a thought."

And later in the same book the remarks of this English recluse and lover of the classics concerning science with its urge toward materialism appear to-day in prophetic vein:

"I hate and fear 'science' because of my conviction that, for long to come if not forever, it will be the remorseless enemy of mankind. I see it destroying all simplicity and gentleness of life; I see it restoring barbarism under a mask of civilization; I see it darkening men's minds and hardening their hearts; I see it bringing a time of vast conflicts, which will pale into insignificance 'the thousand wars of old,' and, as likely as not, will whelm all the laborious advances of mankind in blood-drenched chaos." GEORGE R. COFFMAN

University of Montana, October 25

Appalachian Indignation

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The brief notice in the *Nation* of August 31 of the new edition of M. F. Sweetser's *Guide to the White Mountains* is so undiscriminating as to demand comment. The earlier editions of this work, from the first in 1876 to the fifteenth in 1896, remain as models of their kind, and the plan of the publishers to furnish another, brought completely up to date, would have been highly commendable had the task of revision been entrusted to one familiar with the mountains themselves. The new edition, however, appears to be the work of a closet compiler, who has eliminated much of the historical material which made the older editions of value, has left unchanged many parts that are now obsolete, and has added almost nothing of practical value. As but a few out of many scores of illustrations I may mention the complete disregard of present-day trails on Mt. Clay (p. 75), the Alpine Garden (pp. 58, 60), Boott Spur (p. 61), and Huntington Ravine (p. 53), and ignorance of the actual condition of the summit of Mt. Prospect (p. 148), and of the forests near Gale River (p. 141), around Cherry Pond (p. 156), and in Jackson (p. 185). The Mt. Adams House is still prominent in panoramic views (pp. 26, 70), and in directions to climbers (p. 167), despite the fact that it was years ago destroyed by fire, and the busy and smoky city of Berlin still appears, as in Sweetser's day, as the "white hamlet of Berlin Falls" (pp. 59, 66, 71, 170, 176). The points of the compass are frequently misleading or wrong (*e. g.*, pp. 3, 4). Climbers need directions for reaching summits as well as panoramas from the heights; automobilists prefer information on roads and hotels to long lists of altitudes. In short, the work is badly planned, inadequately revised and often unreliable, and it is greatly to be regretted that a book originally so excellent should have fallen in its latest form into so discreditable a condition.

ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

Randolph, N. H., September 6

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With Bands Playing

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: In your issue of August 31 (p. 215) you state that the military band "is relegated far to the rear, for it can no longer 'play' a regiment up to the firing line or cheer it on as it faces the enemy." It may interest your readers to know that their regimental bands played the different battalions of the Canadian Corps "up to action" at the battle of Courcelette, September 15, 1916. The bands were drawn up in square, as if on parade, and were under fire. Enemy shells were bursting all around them. This is by no means the only instance. The value of the bands at the rear in keeping up the spirits of the troops is beyond question.

Archibald MacMechan

Dalhousie University, October 1

Bret Harte to Carlyle

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: In coming upon Carlyle's *Ilias Americana in Nuce*, quoted in Mr. Sherman's article, "Carlyle and Kaiser Worship," in the *Nation* of September 14th, I am reminded of Bret Harte's reply, which appeared in the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin* September 8, 1863.

Eunice Wead

Ann Arbor, Michigan, September 24

"PETER OF THE NORTH" TO THOMAS CARLYLE

It's true that I hire my servant per day,
Per month, or per year—as he chooses;
While "Paul of the South" takes his bondman for life,
Without asking if he refuses,
T. C.,
Without asking if he refuses!

But if you are judge of the merits alone,
We surely have right to inquire
The date of your service with "Paul of the South,"
And what is the length of your hire,
T. C.,
And what is the length of your hire!

(Signed) F. B. H.

Why Suffrage Lost

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: In a recent editorial on the defeat of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the United States Senate you say: "Just why Senator Benet should have played traitor at this time is not clear." Senator Benet gave the reason himself with perfect frankness at the time he announced that he should vote against the amendment, which was that he had been assured by the members of his party in South Carolina that if he voted in favor of it he never should receive another office. He agreed to vote against it, and when he entered the primaries for the regular nomination to the Senate he was overwhelmingly defeated! Mr. Benet stated on the floor of the Senate that he never had promised to vote in favor of the amendment. We have in our headquarters here in New York a letter from suffragists in South Carolina, saying that when they called on Mr. Benet to ask for his support of the amendment he answered: "I am making no promises, but you will be satisfied with the way I vote."

We do not entirely agree with your view that "the color line has defeated this reform." Only two votes were needed to carry the amendment. It certainly was not the color line that was responsible for the negative votes of seven New England Senators, one from New York, one from New Jersey and two from Pennsylvania—all Republicans; nor was it responsible for those of a Senator from Ohio, one from Nebraska and one from Idaho. What a close analysis of the vote would show is that, with the exception of Borah, of Idaho, every Senator who voted against this amendment was opposed to woman suffrage per se and would have voted against it in his own State.

It is just as humiliating to our Government as it is to the women of the United States that this is the only English-speaking Nation in the world which has not enfranchised its women. Those who understand President Wilson know that he will not accept this defiance of his wishes and insult to his judgment. And those who understand the leaders of the suffrage movement know that they will not regard this defeat as final or even as deferring the question until the close of the war.

We have the highest appreciation of the service which has been rendered to the Federal Amendment and to the cause of woman suffrage in general by the *Nation*.

Ida Husted Harper

New York, October 17

President Wilson and the World Peace

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: Half the sufferings of mankind are probably due to the blunders of highly placed men at critical times. The fruits of twenty years of war against the autocracy of Napoleon I were thrown away by the selfish blunders or the downright stupidity of the leaders of Europe in the years which followed. And all the world knows what a price the people of the United States paid for the vengeance which Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens undertook to wreak upon the prostrate South in the years which followed Lee's surrender at Appomattox.

To understand the duty of the present hour it may be well to review the events that closed our Civil War. President Lincoln insisted that when once the Southerners laid down their arms the utmost kindliness should be shown the vanquished. There had been much brutality in the bitter struggle of four years. Prisoners had been starved on both sides; cities had been burned to the ground; and women had been treated just as women have been treated in the present war. There was every reason for passions to run high; but the great soul that presided in Washington would not think of vengeance. Lincoln even said that if "you will just let Jefferson Davis escape unbeknownst to me, you will save the country much embarrassment," or words to that effect. The one objective of the great President was to heal the wounds of war.

What happened? Grant gave Lee and his men the benefit of Lincoln's generosity. Lee was completely won and the bitterness of defeat was greatly mitigated. Grant's soldiers refused to shout or make other demonstrations when the ragged rebels laid down their arms. Nor did the people of the North demand vengeance for the terrible losses of the four years' struggle. They were happy beyond anything we know or feel to-day; for, after all, the Civil War must remain our great war and it had ended in the right way. Men hated Southerners early in 1865; but they did not wish to humiliate them.

Lincoln was assassinated at the most critical moment. The party of vindictiveness, of personal grievances, of economic ends, which had long denounced Lincoln in private, gained the upper hand. Sumner cried out for the blood of traitors; Thaddeus Stevens demanded that every man of large property in the Southern States should be forever disfranchised; and the Chicago *Tribune* declared that if the Mississippians did not heed the wills of their conquerors, the lower Mississippi valley would be converted into one great frog pond. The spirit of Lincoln was gone. The South became bitter and learned to resist the North and do her will upon poor Negroes in spite of armies and guns. Reconstruction after ten years of failure was confessed as such.

And what was reconstruction? It was an effort of bitter politicians and greedy commercial men and selfish industrial interests to force upon a prostrate people a public life that was not acceptable, an economic policy that sapped the life of Southern industry. The spirit is stronger than the flesh, as the present great European war has abundantly shown. For the South was compelled (wisely as all soon agreed) to repudiate the whole of her Civil War debt; to pay an export tax on her cotton, and to assume and pay her full share of the Federal debt that was incurred in her overthrow.

Moreover, the nation as a whole adopted an economic policy that helped to lower the price of every southern-made product, except sugar, during the forty years which followed Appomattox, and at the same time it compelled ex-Confederate soldiers to pay unprecedented pensions to ex-Union soldiers till this day. This was reconstruction as set up sixty years ago,

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and the solid South which now rules the country and taxes the industrial men of the North, as men have rarely been taxed before, is the fruit of that reconstruction.

Truly vengeance is not ours to pay. The world has gone a long way since 1865, but men are still made of the same stuff; and men's spirits can no more be permanently cowed now than they could be when Grant received the sword of Lee, or, for that matter, when Napoleon tried to crush Prussia in 1807. Poland is not crushed after a hundred and fifty years of brutal subjection.

We are again at a juncture of world affairs when decisions must be made; decisions that affect the fortunes of countless millions of men, perhaps for centuries. Shall we learn from the past? Or shall we, like the Bourbons, never learn and never forget? President Wilson is undoubtedly the responsible leader of us all and of Europeans in very large measure. Yet the body of articulate men and women in this country have it in their power to make or mar the President's policies. Shall we not, all of us, endeavor to be thoughtful and, like the Master of old, without hatred towards men, but with hatred towards the exploiters of men.

For once the world has for a leader a historian and a man who has shown that he can govern his own spirit. Mr. Wilson seems to have no theory to apply, only the method that promises to give mankind a better way than the old way. He believes that the oldest wrong may be righted, yet he would not right even a great wrong if the correction promised another wrong equally crying. He believes in democracy among men, and holds that democracy and Christianity are practically the same. The trouble with Germany is not that she is German, but that she is pagan and needs to be Christianized. If Germany had been even remotely Christian she would not have forced this great war upon the world.

Further, Mr. Wilson believes that men have too long fostered wars by commercial rivalries and selfish tariff policies. He would not at once abolish "high commerce" or tear down tariff walls; but he would limit high commerce and lower high tariff walls. He does not believe, from what he has publicly stated, that backward countries can at once set up successful democracies; but because they might stumble, as Mexico has so long stumbled, he sees no reason to prohibit them from trying to save themselves by governing themselves, even badly. He would help them honestly and fight off financial or other exploiters. These are all matters vital to world peace.

More vital still is the absence of hatred in Mr. Wilson's make-up. He neither hates nor loves in large affairs. He reasons. He has said that the Kaiser is without honor. Some people distrust him because he does not repeat that saying every day. He knows that the German people can not be wiped off the earth; and he would not wipe them off the earth if he could do so. Like Lincoln in 1865 he would draw them to himself in kindly fashion and read them the Sermon on the Mount, making sure that none of them carried concealed weapons about their persons. The President would emancipate the Germans, not crush or humiliate them.

Now there are thousands of men whose names are known beyond their own county borders who have no faith in this kind of method. They believe that the strong arm of brute force is the restraining influence for the people of Germany; they are our Prussians and certainly the German rulers have long enough sworn by that method; but, as I have said, have not the Germans themselves demonstrated beyond a doubt that the spirits of men can not be cowed? Do not the past experiences of our country show that no great group of people can be successfully subjected by swords and shrapnel?

Is not the President pursuing the right method? Was not Lincoln taking the right way to restore the South in 1865, a much more broken country than Germany is or is likely to be? If we do not exercise the utmost care and stir up the best that is in our people, we shall re-embark upon another reconstruction policy which can not but lead to disaster and recurrence to the spirit of war—a war worse than that which we now seek to abolish.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

University of Chicago, October 18

[While the *Nation* cannot agree with Professor Dodd in his estimate of our reconstruction policies, and notably in his judgment of such men as Sumner, we endorse heartily his suggestions concerning the lessons to be drawn from our experience following the Civil War.—EDITOR.]

BOOKS

Negro Education

The Education of the South African Native. By Charles T. Loram. New York: Longmans, Green & Company. $2 net.

THE problem of the Negro in the United States is the same as in his native continent; for even there the restless white man has pushed in and settled. There, as here, the two races must live together. Can they live together in harmony? The problem is even more acute in South Africa because the whites are so few. Some think the difficulty will be solved by repressing the black men, by keeping them out of sight on reserves, in a state of semi-barbarism. Others believe that they should live side by side with the whites, on terms of equality. Others, again, hold that the two races should be segregated, and that each must be encouraged to follow out its own natural line of development.

A very careful, thorough, and clear study of the whole problem has been made by Dr. C. T. Loram, who possesses special qualifications for dealing with it. A thorough Afrikander, born and brought up in the British colony of Natal, he gained his education at three widely separated universities, the Cape, Cambridge, and Columbia. During his residence in the United States, he took every opportunity of acquainting himself with Negro education here, and his present position as inspector of schools in his native province has afforded him special facilities for studying the Negro in all his aspects, especially as a pupil to be educated into citizenship. The result is a brief treatise which cannot be neglected by any friend of the colored race.

For the native South African, education of some kind is not a luxury, but a necessity. The cessation of tribal wars under the *pax Britannica,* the easy conditions of soil and climate, have produced a great increase of the Negro population. In Cape Colony the native population has doubled within twenty-eight years. But the barbarous native is a menace, and the smart "school native" is a nuisance. Black and white corrupt each other. Having native servants to wait on him, the white man becomes lazy and learns to despise all manual labor as "Kafir's work." On the other hand, the white man, as distinguished from the missionary, breaks up the old tribal customs and undermines the tribal morality. For the missionary, Dr. Loram has nothing but praise. He is the native's true friend, caring for him in sorrow and sickness, and fending off from him the local storekeeper and the Government official. The missionary has been the pioneer in educating the black man, but, being human, has made mistakes and pinned his faith to book learning.

Education must be adapted to the intellectual capacity of the pupil. The thorny question of the Negro's arrested development is deftly handled. Opinions are cited pro and con. There follows the cautious judgment of the Cape Select Committee on Native Education. "Your Committee find that the belief in the inability of the native to develop at a normal rate beyond a certain stage is not supported by facts, and that any definite assertion as to the capacity or limits of the native mind must at present be regarded as a deduction from uncertain evidence" (pp. 215 ff.).

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Dr. Loram conducted a series of scientific tests to determine, if possible, the intellectual ability of the white, Indian, and native children in the Natal schools. The results, which are depicted in graphs, are very instructive.

The conclusion to which the author comes is that the Negro needs less of book learning, and more of industrial and manual training; but even in trades, the lengths to which a Negro may go are limited. He must not become too keen a competitor with the white artisan! The pursuit offering the greatest opportunities to the Negro is the basic industry of agriculture.

American Prussianism

America After the War. By an American Jurist. New York: The Century Company. $1.

THIS book originally appeared as a series of communications to the New York *Times*. It declares its warrant for existence to be the "general interest" aroused by the series. But it has another warrant, not so authoritative, perhaps, but sufficient. It draws the inevitable deductions from the principles of Prussianism as applied to the foreign policy of the United States after the war. Nothing could serve more clearly to expose the inhumanity and fatuousness of the whole ridiculous pretension, and the author does it admirably, with a solemn pomposity of assertion and impersonality of manner worthy of Dean Swift. To be sure, the writer is subtler than Dean Swift, for often he almost persuades the reader that he is in earnest. Inasmuch, however, as he sounds most earnest where he is in fact most amusing, while at the same time masking himself with the *nom-de-plume* of "American Jurist," one is compelled to wonder whether the author is not, after all, playing a hoax on the reading public.

The opening is impressive. "All modern wars between nations," we read, "are in the last analysis founded on national interest and national honor, which are almost identical terms." There exists a providence, in the shape of a ruling class, which defines the "permanent national interest" and seduces the "citizenship," by means of sentimental motives, to its defence. This providence is implicated in a sort of political predestination which makes war inevitable. For example: "Since 1870, given an opportune moment, American interests would have been unhesitatingly assailed by Germany with all the force and power it could command. For this reason, if for no other, it was the interest of the American Government to meet the inevitable [*sic*] issue with Germany at least as soon as it did." "Sentimental considerations" are "always skilfully manipulated by those discerning public men who have closer at heart the national interest and well-being." These men are "well-constructed human beings" in whom "sentiment always plays a minor part." They are patriots, of course, but "patriotism is not a sentiment. It is to belittle the nobility of mankind to affirm that the love of . . . country . . . is a sentiment; . . . it is rather *a priori* and inborn . . . an elementary principle of being."

For the well-constructed human beings in whom sentiment plays a minor part, treaties, when in their opinion national interest and honor require it, are never anything more than scraps of paper. This is shown not merely by the German treatment of Belgium and Luxembourg, but also by what America might have done to Mexico and Canada had these been neutralized and had a war been in progress in which the neutrality of these states appeared to be an inconvenience. The neutrality of states has, in fact, been a selfish device of the Great Powers, its significance intentionally left uncertain in order that it might the more easily be violated as "national interest and honor" dictated.

Such being the situation, it behooves the United States to look well to the future. National "interest and honor," regardful of the future, require us to make ourselves as powerful as possible and our neighbors as weak as possible. Our "interest" is in our neighbors; our "honor" requires their exploitation to our advantage. Our treaties, accordingly, must look upon Mexico, Canada, the West Indies, Asia, and the Pacific much as Germany looks upon eastern Europe. We must pacify Mexico and so control it as to insure us against attack from that quarter. We cannot allow any foreign Power to intervene in that country. The same principle applies to Canada. "Permanent European domination of Canada was (and is) undesirable for the United States." While at present Canada is moved by tradition to cultivate more intimate relations with the United States, it would be better for the United States if Canada were to become an absolutely sovereign state. We could then assimilate it by peaceful penetration and commercial treaties, and form a definitive offensive and defensive alliance. As for the West Indies, "national interest and honor" require us to claim them all, and Europe should cede them. "The continuance of Europe in the West Indies can have no adequate moral foundation, while it is, and ought to be, displeasing to America." We must keep the Philippines in order to maintain the "open door" in China. "Asia is not impressed by a foreign Power which exhibits neither strength nor consistency, for Asiatics are quick to realize that without these qualities no nation can be either successful or permanent."

The foregoing policy, our "American Jurist" affirms, is entirely in accord with what "the Fathers" meant by democracy. But there are certain new ideas of democracy with which President Wilson has toyed, notwithstanding that he "has recently shown . . . that he favors a militant democracy of the old type." These new ideas are in conflict with democratic conceptions of the old type. "Democracy is still on trial as a principle," even in America, so we should do well to beware of trying to make the world safe for a political order that is still in process of testing. Such a programme, moreover, vexes the powerful European aristocracies, which are still "seriously attached to monarchical institutions"; it "tends to check and to alienate them," particularly the "powerful aristocratic class" of France who may yet make of that country "a monarchy and join some future league of the Kings." Hence, the tradition of "abrupt directness" that characterizes our foreign policy is dangerous. "To be effectual, diplomacy must be reticent . . . and stately . . . with a greater force always behind it." Our immediate duty is to arm against the inevitable wars to come, for "of all the enemies of a great nation, the worst are the dreamers who see ahead an era of universal and perpetual peace."

All this, of course, is a complete denial of everything that the United States stands for in the present war. It is nothing less than Prussianism masquerading as American "national interest and honor." It were charitable to infer that our "American Jurist" is only writing satire.

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Indian Criticism.

The Dance of Siva. By Ananda Coomaraswamy. New York, The Sunwise Turn. $2.50.

Dr. Coomaraswamy's essays deal with a remarkable variety of topics, and each essay has a richness of thought that makes claim for a lengthy consideration. Dr. Coomaraswamy is Indian and philosophic, however, and he is not going to involve us in manifold relations. Whether he writes about the status of women in the East and the West; about Indian music; Buddhist Primitives; Nietzsche, or about individuality, autonomy, and function, there is always a theme back of the topic—that theme is man and man's place in the universe.

There is no rigid body of doctrine, however. If anything is insisted upon it is the multitudinousness of existence—Becoming as opposed to Being. It is in art rather than in any system of thought that a rendering of existence is given. And Dr. Coomaraswamy, like many other philosophers, looks upon music as the type of the arts. In this typical rendering there are:

> Monumental and articulate elements, masculine and feminine factors which are unified in perfect form. We have here the sound of the tambura which is heard before the song, during the song, and continues after it: that is the timeless Absolute, which as it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be. On the other hand there is the song itself, which is the variety of Nature, emerging from its source and returning at the close of its cycle. The harmony of that undivided Ground with this intricate Pattern is the unity of Spirit and Matter. (Indian Music.)

In the opening essay Dr. Coomaraswamy shows us that the important contribution which India has made to world-civilization is just her "Indianness." In the same way it may be said that the awakening element in these essays is their "Indianness." Have we thought of the caste system as obsolete? Then let us re-consider it as futurist:

> In a just and healthy society, function should depend upon capacity; and in the normal individual, capacity and inclination are inseparable (this is the "instinct of workmanship"). We are able accordingly to recognize in the theory of the Syndicalists, as well as in the caste organization of India, a very nearly ideal combination of duty and pleasure, compulsion and freedom; and the words vocation or *dharma* imply this very identity. Individualism and socialism are united in the concept of function.

Have we thought of the Indian woman's status as being that of servitude, and of the "suttee" as a perversity of devotion? Then the writer of "The Dance of Siva" will force us to compare the Indian wife who devotes herself to her husband's funeral pyre with the patriot who devotes himself to the barrage-fire, and he will make us ponder upon this judgment:

> If she, too, should be persuaded to expend her power upon externals, there might come a time on earth when it could not be believed that such women had ever lived as the ancient poets describe; it would be forgotten that woman had ever been unselfish, sensuous, and shy. Deirdre, Brynhild, Alcestis, Sitā, Rādhā, would then be empty names. And that would be a loss, for already it has been felt in Western Schools that we "are not furnished with adequate womanly ideals in history and literature."

The essay that will be regarded as most curiously Indian is the one entitled Sahaja, an interpretation of an Indian cult of passionless love. Like the reproductions of Indian paintings and sculptures that are given, this essay awakens in us again a sense of the strange elaborateness that is in Indian life.

All through the book there is a philosophic radicalism—it is made most explicit in the essay, Individuality, Autonomy and Function. It makes a bridge between the concepts of Blake, Nietzsche, and Whitman and certain of the applications of modern industrial and political reformers. The essays on æsthetics have the same blend of something modern—or rather futurist—with something experienced and traditional. For the whole interpretation of Indian sculptures and paintings is given in sayings that suggest the æsthetic of Benedetto to Croce. And the remarkable reproductions that are presented—beautiful decorative paintings and great architectural sculptures—help us to realize the modernity that was always in the ancient life of India. All these things, according to Dr. Coomaraswamy, are now Indian only by inheritance—the denationalizing system of education has left the "educated" Indian a utilitarian of the school of Macaulay.

Like all deep thinkers on Indian problems, Dr. Coomaraswamy thinks that the East and the West, in the best moments of their civilizations, have touched upon the same truths. The peril that confronts both East and West to-day comes from the degradation of the East and the turning into a religion of time her religion of eternity. A non-idealistic and aggressive Orient may sometime confront an idealistic and anti-militaristic Europe. ". . . and that would be a strange Nemesis if European post-Industrialism should ultimately be defeated by an Industrialism or Imperialism of European origin established in the East!"

Fun and Fancy

From Baseball to Boches. B. H. C. Witwer. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

Keeping Up with William. By Irving Bacheller. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company.

Worrying Won't Win. By Montague Glass. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Miss Mink's Soldier and Other Stories. By Alice Hegan Rice. New York: The Century Company.

A Runaway Woman. By Louis Dodge. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Caravan Man. By Ernest Goodwin. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Thomas. By H. B. Creswell. New York: Robert M. McBride & Company.

As we look over the novels recently issued in the rush before the Government's restrictions of book-publishing should be put in force, we note a number of books of humorous intent. A report comes from the booksellers that people are looking for such books, and that one or two of them are already "going off like hot cakes," notably two rather similar ones in the form of letters from the front, "Dere Mable," and "From Baseball to Boches." These are amusing and rather extravagant self-portraits by more or less typical "doughboys." They set forth conditions of life in the camps and the trenches with the kind of comic relief (though with no such success) as is effected in the Bairnsfather drawings. "From Baseball to Boches" is the broader kind of fun, the kind of fun that had better literary standing in the day of Josh Billings and Artemus Ward, or even of "Helen's Babies," but has never been more acceptable to the populace than now, as the news-stands testify under our noses. Delicate humor in an ex-ball-player would be an affront to his readers in the smoking-car, as it would have been to his audience on the bleachers. "Keeping Up with William" is in effect a spirited monologue on the war by Mr. Bacheller's ancient interlocutor, the Honorable Socrates Potter, who not so long ago was busy enough "Keeping Up with Lizzie." He is a Hosea Bigelow in prose, full of wise saws and commonsense touched with sentiment, and with always an anecdote to fit the case. William, of course, is the Kaiser; he has an uncomfortable time of it at the hands of the Honorable Socrates. But the book is not merely anti-Bill humor; its larger theme is what William stands for. From the ground of that old-fashioned Americanism on which Mr. Bacheller always stands, it attacks with vigor, for example, certain signs of "the German leprosy" in our midst, notably in our theatres and motion-picture houses, which are mainly in German hands, and deliberately familiarize our youth with the spectacle of city vice and degeneracy: "I would as soon have my daughter's feet enter a brothel as her brain," cries the Honorable Socrates, "She might shake the dust from her feet." This grim Yankee humor is never far from didactic. More flexible and less sententious is the running commentary on aspects of America at war by Messrs. Potash and Perlmutter in "Worrying Won't Win." At least their sententiousness is unfortified by the puritan frown as characteristic of the Honorable Socrates as his twinkle. These commentators are not unduly depressed or impressed by their office. Their criticism of contemporary life, for all its Hebraic twist, has much of the mellowness and unconquerable good humor for which we used to look exclusively to Mr. Dooley. Their jargon of the cloak and suit business has not lost its effectiveness. "The English what I learnt it at night school, Mawruss," says Abe, apropos of Wilson and his acid test in the treatment of Russia, "was more or less a popular-price line of language, and when Mr. Wilson comes across every once in a while with

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one of them exclusive models in the way of speeches, using principally high-grade words and imported designs, understand me, I ain't no more equipped to handle his stuff than a manufacturer of fly-papers is to make flying machines." But Abe's English enables him to handle with spirit and kindly wit all sorts of themes of the hour, from soap-boxers and the sugar question to peace with victory and the income tax. That is an amusing bit of dialogue on Roosevelt and Wilson which ends: "Well, Mr. Taft has got a whole lot of sympathy for Mr. Wilson, Abe," Morris said. "He knows how it is himself, because when he was President, y'understand, he also had experience with Mr. Roosevelt trying to police his administration." . . . "There's only one remedy, so far as I could see, Mawruss," Abe said, "if we're ever going to have Mr. Wilson make any progress with the war." . . . "You don't mean we should put through that law for the three brightest men in the country to run it?" Morris inquired. . . . "No, sir," Abe replied. "Put through a law that after anybody has held the office of ex-President for two administrations, Mawruss, he should become a private sitson—and mind his own business."

In "Miss Mink's Soldier" Mrs. Rice shows her usual control of the smile-and-tear sort of humor. She has a faculty for taking somewhat commonplace materials and making uncommonly effective use of them—which, after all, is what Shakespeare did (among other things). The stories in this collection have a good deal of variety in theme and manner, and are all well done. Only one of them, "A Matter of Friendship," has any real novelty of plot, and that one has little else. The rest deal with familiar types and situations—the spinster who adopts a rookie, the gentleman hobo triumphant, the old southern mountaineer defying civilization, the elderly countrywoman on a spree in the city, the Japanese maiden being flower-like for a foreigner. On the whole, the event justifies her reëmployment of these well-tried motives. Her elderly countrywoman adventuring is a bit of the comic-picturesque kind of thing that has been so often experimented with of late. Over here we have had "Parnassus on Wheels," in a vein of light-hearted but not light-minded whimsy, and "Professor Latimer's Progress," that mellow chronicle of ourselves, the older ones, "seeing it through" here at home. "A Runaway Woman" now makes somewhat clumsily romantic capital out of the "open road" idea. A young wife runs away from her stupid and vicious husband and her dull city street, and spends some time wandering about the country, chiefly in the company of an admirable and honorable man she has met by the way. They come to love each other, but she finally decides to go back to her husband and her duty, does go back, and is promptly rewarded by the husband's death at the hands of the police and the author. Such glamour as the tale has is laboriously wrought out of noble sentiments and the perennial risky situation of the unwed and innocent fellow-wanderers who are still in delicious peril of each other. The same kind of "piquancy" is more delicately exploited in "The Caravan Man," in which an itinerant artist blamelessly involves several young or youngish females in his adventures. The note of romantic comedy is well kept in this narrative which so often hangs on the verge of farce, but never (like "The Runaway Woman") muddles itself with the machinery of realism. "Thomas," another British example of this species, pretends to be nothing if not farcical. It retails the adventures of an irrepressible Briton with feminine England. Not a few of its episodes are quite amusing in the unlamented tradition of the nineties, with humor of the "killing" sort which we used to chuckle over rather ashamedly in the less complex days of "Three Men in a Boat."

Contributors to this Issue

NORMAN THOMAS is vice-chairman of the National Civil Liberties Bureau and managing editor of *The World To-morrow*.

L. F. ANDERSON is professor of education in Ohio State University.

E. W. CLEMENT and A. J. BARNOUW are correspondents of the *Nation* in Tokio and The Hague respectively.

The Law of Sedition

Espionage Cases. Compiled by Walter Nelles. New York: National Civil Liberties Bureau.

THIS is a collection of cases arising since the United States declared war against Germany, and involving in general the question of seditious utterances. The collection is preceded by an analysis of the cases and is followed by brief notes and comment. The most important part of the pamphlet, however, consists of extracts from opinions of judges in actual cases, numbering fifty-seven in all, some of which arose under the so-called Espionage Act, and others under other statutes. Nowhere in the book is there any clear statement of the principles governing the doctrine of freedom of speech; the analysis of holdings leaves much to be desired and the notes and comment at the end of the cases are quite unsatisfactory.

The doctrine of freedom of speech has never been a doctrine that every individual has unlimited right to say under all circumstances anything that he may desire. The right is limited by rights of other individuals and rights of the state which cannot be encroached upon. In the case of the individual, there are at least two well defined limits, comprised in the law of libel and the law of boycott. No man has a right to make false statements of fact tending to injure the reputation of his neighbor, or to utter opinions for the purpose of and tending to injure the business of his neighbor. In the case of the state, it has always been recognized that it was unlawful to incite to crime or the doing of an unlawful act. It has also been recognized that statutes prohibiting obscene utterances, attacks on religion, or seditious utterances were lawful limitations on the right of free speech. In order to have such statutes sustained, it is necessary to provide for fair legal trials by due process of law, so that the right shall not be interfered with arbitrarily. The Espionage Act defines what shall be held to be seditious utterances.

No case is given in the book in which the constitutionality of the statute was seriously questioned. In fact, it is hard to see how it could he held unconstitutional, since it makes it unlawful to interfere with the prosecution of a war which was lawfully entered into by the United States. The real question is as to how far the statute goes in reaching specific acts, and the great danger as unfortunately illustrated by some of the cases is that the courts will construe acts and speeches as interferences with the prosecution of the war although they could only be so construed by the most far fetched reasoning.

The analysis of holdings prefixed to the cases gives a fair view of the process through which the courts have gone in trying to arrive at correct principles in applying the statute, but fails to point out how the same act may violate the statute under certain circumstances of time and place, and not violate it under others. In fact, the discussion is more that of a digest maker than of a treatise writer. Take for example the question which has given rise to considerable conflict of opinion, namely, whether a statement of mere opinion as distinguished from facts, can constitute a violation of the statute. There are two distinct provisions of the law, one prohibiting the circulation of false statements of fact, the other consisting of two sections, one prohibiting the causing or attempting to cause insubordination, disloyalty, or mutiny or refusal of duty, in the military and naval forces of the United States; and the other prohibiting the obstructing of recruitment. It is plain that the first section does not apply to the utterance of opinions, but it is also plain that the utterance of opinions may directly and most effectually cause insubordination or disloyalty or obstruct recruiting, and therefore may constitute a violation of the other sections of the act.

The statement in the notes and the editor's comment that honest efforts to communicate what is believed to be true cannot be made criminal is far from being a correct statement of the principles applicable to the constitutional guaranty of freedom of speech, and to the interpretation of this particular statute. The constitutional guaranty does not protect the expression of opinions, even if believed to be true, if they tend to injure and are made for the purpose of injuring the business of another, or if they are intended to incite crime or an unlawful act. The statute expressly makes it an unlawful act to interfere with recruitment. If the expression of opinion of what was believed to be true would have this effect, there can be no

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question that the constitutional guaranty would not prevent such expression from being held a violation of this act. The question then would become one of fact as to whether a particular expression of opinion would tend to produce the effect prohibited by the statute. It is plain that there would be close questions of fact in this connection. The cases will range, and the cases in this book do range, all the way from one in which a direct attempt was made to reach a man already booked for service to one where the opinions were expressed in a private gathering. In the former case, there could be little question that the attempt is prohibited by the statute. In the latter, different minds might come to different conclusions, and accordingly we find a conflict of holdings in the cases here gathered together. The judges who decided these cases would probably all acquiesce in the statement of principles, and yet they may and do differ in their application of these principles.

The interesting question of interference with freedom of speech by preventive means, such as exclusion from the mails, is not thoroughly discussed in the book. The author apparently reaches the conclusion that no constitutional question of free speech or free press is presented by exclusion of matter from the mails or denial of second-class mail privileges, and states this as the holding in the *Masses* case. This is far from accurate. The courts have always recognized that the constitutional privilege of free speech might be interfered with by the denial of mail privileges, but they have also recognized that this denial was preventive rather than punitive, and have been more liberal in sustaining the judgment of administrative officers in excluding matter from the mails than they would have been if these officers had been exercising a judicial function with the purpose of fixing a punishment for an unlawful use of the mails. That is to say, an act which could not be punished as an unlawful use of the mails might be sufficient to justify the exclusion of matter from the mails.

The greatest danger to free institutions doubtless lies at this very point, for free criticism of policies of the Government and the conduct of government officials has been one of the cornerstones of our liberties. To hold that the Government could suppress such criticism by refusing it the most important means of communication would tend to violate the fundamental principle of justice, that no man shall be both complainant and judge in a cause. For this reason the exclusion of matter from the mails must be reviewable by the courts, it must be based on sound reasons, and it cannot be arbitrary. The cases involving this point in this collection are not opposed to these principles except as they may misapply them. They give a very incomplete view of the law, however, because it is doubtful whether the Supreme Court of the United States would follow the reasoning of the Circuit Court of Appeals in the case of the *Masses*, rather than the very able opinions of the lower courts.

This little collection of cases is important and the work of the editor and compiler, though leaving much to be desired, is, under the circumstances, valuable.

WE learn from "The Danish West Indies Under Company Rule" (Macmillan), by Waldemar Westergaard, that the first Hohenzollern aspirations for a "place in the sun" centred upon the little group of West Indian islands over which the American flag now flies. After the Treaties of Nimeguen (1678-1679), Denmark and Brandenburg were drawn together because of their association as allies of Holland against Sweden and Louis XIV, and as a result there were evolved in 1680 the bold schemes of Benjamin Raule, founder of Prussian sea power, which called for remote colonial outposts in the slave-producing regions of western Africa and in the slave-consuming plantation areas of the West Indies. The record of this episode of the Brandenburg Company at St. Thomas is but one of the several interesting and important contributions made by this volume, the first careful historical survey in any language of the Danish island group. While the value of the book as an historical survey of a new field must be recognized and warmly commended, it has one serious defect. No effort has been made to give this Danish experiment its proper place in the colonial history of the world. It is regarded as a unique enterprise, a thing apart, and while the admirable introduction by Prof. H. M. Stephens touches upon the overseas experiences of other nations, the book proper is seriously lacking in perspective.

Notes

HOW permanent, how sincere and widespread, is the love of poetry may be seen in the fact that Burton E. Stevenson's anthology, "The Home Book of Verse," (Holt; $10), has gone into a third edition. The present volume is enlarged to more than four thousand pages, on India paper, and is a sterling example of good presswork. The compiler has carefully heeded the constructive criticism evoked by his previous editions, and the book has so far gained in character and prestige that it may now probably be called definitive. Among the improvements permitted by this revision is the addition of poems representing the remarkable and uncomprehended renascence in poetry that has taken place in the last twenty years; and here, in this most delicate and difficult of all the tasks that confront the anthologist, Mr. Stevenson has acquitted himself with extraordinary skill. *Man lese nicht die mit-streibende, mit-werkende* is the best of good advice in general, and its special application to contemporary poetry can hardly be made too stringent. Mr. Stevenson's selective power is shown perhaps to best advantage in his omissions, in his ability to remain unswayed by a more or less meretricious vogue—whether the vogue of an individual or that of a group or school. It would, perhaps, be invidious to particularize, but his striking and admirable discriminations against every influence that tends to impair the practice of poetry will appear upon examination of his work, and the reader can also with very little trouble gain a sense of the steadfastness of judgment required to make them.

THE writing of biographies might become one of the greatest of the arts, rather than mere painstaking reporting, if future biographers could imitate the naïve simplicity and selective taste of Setsuke Koizumi, Lafcadio Hearn's wife, who has written her "Reminiscences of Lafcadio Hearn" (Houghton Mifflin, $1). Though there is no doubt that Hearn, while extremely sensitive and temperamental, was not a very complex person, Mrs. Hearn has delineated him with such skilful economy of means that her portrait can be compared to the prints of Hokusai. It is her clear, flexible and temperate Japanese mind that has infused this picture of another human being, so that Lafcadio Hearn is remembered from the book not so much as Setsuke Koizumi,—as the portrait painter is admired for his treatment of the sitter, rather than the model being admired for himself. Mrs. Hearn strays over the years of her association with Lafcadio Hearn and selects here and there moments,—in their travel together and at home—that were vivid to her. The book contributes some intimate knowledge of Lafcadio Hearn, but its highest contribution is to limpid, poetic prose literature. She quotes Hearn's words as he was dying: "Perhaps, if this pain of mine increases I may die. If I die, do not weep. Buy a little urn; you can find one for three or four *sen*. Put my bones in it, and bury it near a quiet temple in the country. I shall not like it if you cry. Amuse the children and play cards with them—how much better I shall enjoy that! There will be no need of announcing my death. If any one asks, reply, 'Oh, he died some time ago!' That will be quite proper." Setsuko Koizumi chiselled and carved his phrases as an artist would, and moulded them to her appreciation of a simple speech of beauty. Although the reminiscences lack continuity, they are full of such starkly vivid passages as this. Nothing, perhaps would have satisfied the Japanese-loving soul of Lafcadio Hearn so much as this particular "little urn" in which his wife has perpetuated her memory of him.

A GOOD many people have condemned Colonel House for his relations with the President. Others, especially members of Congress, have been inclined to censure the President for the kind of clandestine influence which he allows the plain man from Texas to exercise in national affairs. To both these classes of critics history replies that other Presidents have leaned heavily upon the shoulders of unofficial advisers. The main point, after all, is as to the kind of man upon whom the President elects to lean. There can be little doubt that Colonel House is democratic and even radical in his political opinions, and that he has always been on the side of the so-called progressives in his political life. Yet he lives and moves in a quiet way which leads the public to think of him as mysterious. Is he simply

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keeping from the left hand what the right hand doeth, or does he at heart believe in "invisible government"? He has allowed the narrative of his life to be published in "The Real Colonel House" (Doran; $1.50), by Arthur D. Howden Smith, but it cannot be said that the book removes the mystery of his career, nor do its quotations cast much light upon either his ideals or his philosophy. Needless to say, it gives no inkling whatever of what has taken place on the numerous occasions when he and the President have been in conference at the White House. Some of Mr. Smith's quotations from Colonel House seem to bear out the view that he belongs to the group of Democrats who, like Colonel Roosevelt, believe in the people if they may be allowed to make the people's choices. For example, Colonel House remarks very distinctly that the weakness of democracy is talk, and when things have to be done he advises a secret or at best a strictly limited caucus; a full committee always falls into useless talk. If this view of the President's adviser is to be accepted as an expression of his political philosophy, then he is speaking the language of the autocrats of the past. Of course, successful administrators are quite likely to underestimate the value of discussion, but the greatest of men have not failed to appreciate the supreme force of emotion which eloquence arouses and focuses. President Wilson certainly does not underestimate the importance of words and phrases for moving mankind to great tasks. Whether Colonel House in making known his own opinion merely expresses his own view or whether he perhaps indicates a certain impatience which Mr. Wilson feels with Congress is perhaps an open question. It has been intimated that Colonel House is to head the American delegation at the Peace Conference. Doubtless he is in accord with the President on the great questions that will come before that congress—a league of nations, self-determination of peoples, unhampered international trade, and international supervision of colonies and backward regions. But whether Colonel House possesses the knowledge of men and of facts in addition to sheer intellectual power which will be needed by the man who represents the United States at the Peace Conference, the American public has had no means of knowing. From this point of view, at least, he is still a mystery. Yet if he is silent or mysterious or even undemocratic, he is nevertheless a conscientious and disinterested friend of the President. He holds no brief for business of any kind, and while he is a Southerner, he exhibits none of the provincial tendencies so often to be observed in members of Congress from that section. Finally, it must not be forgotten that the ultimate decision, so far as we are concerned, on all the great problems to be determined at the end of the war rests, not with Colonel House, but with the President and the American people. Colonel House may be an agent of the Government in a more positive sense than diplomats have usually been, and his ability and experience will undoubtedly serve the President as they have already served in the past.

IN this day of genetic literary criticism, the non-specialist seldom ventures into the classical field for the subject of a book. Cicero, however, continues to fall a prey, for in his voluminous correspondence any biographer of moderate facility can find a plausible milieu for his subject. Hannis Taylor's "Cicero" (McClurg; $3.50), is at least as good as the average. The author has read his Cicero with appreciation, he has diligently culled facts and some conjectures from many unreadable dissertations, and he has profited greatly by Professor Sihler's patient sifting of all that has been said about the orator. Naturally he is chiefly interested in the development of Roman law, but his long chapter on this subject seems somewhat irrelevant, for in the process of fitting Roman law for general application and of reading the Stoic doctrine of natural law into the praetor's edict, Cicero had a less important part than his friend Sulpicius. The author has also been over zealous in scenting out the faith of an orthodox churchman in the phrases of the ancient pagan, and he is too sure of Cicero's Stoicism. After all, what was the Porch that every approved Roman must be found sitting in its shade? However, despite a few misconceptions, an occasional exaggeration, and a dull treatment of the confessedly dull philosophical essays, the book is a fairly well-rounded and, on the whole, accurate portrait of a great man, easily and enthusiastically drawn. The whole book is, we think, rather unnecessarily long.

THE "epilogue" which Mrs. Green has added to the latest edition of her husband's "Short History of the English People" (American Book Company; $2) gives it in some sort the character of a new work. The "Short History" was the first, as it has remained the most popular, social history of England, and it has many undeniable merits. But Green never accepted the theory upon which we are to-day more and more insisting, that the chief function of history is to explain the present. He was keenly interested in the social conditions of his own day, but he did not bring his history into immediate and vital relations with those conditions. He closed his narrative with the year 1815, and it does not appear that he ever contemplated a continuation of it beyond that point of time. By her "epilogue" Mrs. Green now for the first time links the "Short History" with the life of contemporary England. It covers the period of almost exactly a century from the Battle of Waterloo to the outbreak of the Great War of 1914. It fills one hundred and seventy closely printed pages, and is divided into two sections, dealing respectively with social development and with foreign and colonial policy. Mrs. Green who is herself an historian of no small ability, has done her work in a creditable manner and has added to the usefulness of her husband's treatise. It is not to her discredit to say that what she has written contains nothing comparable to those powerful and moving passages which elevate the "Short History" to the dignity of an English classic.

AN echo of other days, Major E. S. O'Reilley's "Roving and Fighting" (Century; $2 net) has no lack of stirring adventure and warlike incident. The record of a "vagabond soldier's" career, it presents in piquant fashion snapshots of the Spanish War, of an abortive Venezuelan revolution, of China after the Boxer Rebellion, of skirmishes in the Philippines, and of the tempestuous days in Mexico following the overthrow of Diaz.

IN W. T. Massey's book, "The Desert Campaigns" (Putnam; $1.50), we have the story of the work performed by the Egyptian Expeditionary Force which he thinks has hitherto been much underrated by writers and journalists. The story is here carried down to the battle of Rafa, "which ejected the Turk from the Sinai Peninsula and gave back to Egypt every foot of its territory." The illustrations, mostly of Canal and Desert scenes, are by James McBey, official artist with the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, and add materially to the interest of the book.

CONCERNED with Eastern affairs, but rather with things political than with things military, is E. F. Benson's "Crescent and Iron Cross" (Doran; $1.25). Of Turkey the author maintains that the famous phrase of Nicholas I, "Turkey is a sick man," is no longer true. "Turkey is not a sick man," he says; "Turkey is a sickness." And he continues: "Turkey, the rodent cancer, has been infected by another with greater organization for devouring; the disease of Ottomanism is threatened by a more deadly hungerer, and Prussianism has inserted its coal-pincers into the cancer that came out of Asia." It is these phenomena, and their reaction upon the subject peoples of Armenia, Syria, and Palestine, that Mr. Benson here examines, with the result that he sees a brighter future for Turkey He feels that the Turkey of the future is to be for the Turks; not for the persecuted Armenians, nor for the Arabs, nor for the Greeks, and assuredly not for the Prussians.

IN "The Language of Color," by M. Luckiesh (Dodd, Mead; $1.50 net), readers will find a large amount of useful information dealing with the various fields in which color is used. It explains the expressiveness of color as used at present, and the methods of applying it. The author attempts to show the possibilities of a language of color.

TALES of the American and British navy are well told by James B. Connolly in "The U-Boat Hunters" (Scribner; $1.50). He is also a first-class *raconteur*, as the story of the old cargo captain, three times torpedoed, who, having taken to a boat on the third occasion in the Mediterranean, found time to appreciate the fact that "a man could 'ardly arsk to be torpedoed under more pleasant conditions." This dramatic story reads like an extravaganza of Frank Stockton.

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Art

An Opportunity Lost*

MR. NORBERT HEERMANN says that "the greatness of Duveneck's art is best understood by the student of painting"; also that, for a while, Duveneck was almost lost sight of by the public, but this book does not help to explain why. Praise alone does not give the clue to a man's art, nor disconnected facts to his personality. In one sentence Duveneck, as a boy in Covington, is seeing something of the wounded and the Negro refugees of the Civil War, and in the next he is modelling and carving and decorating for the Benedictine Fathers in the same town, with not so much as a suggestion of how it came about. A few lines further, he is learning the "rough craft of painting on large surfaces," and our confidence in Mr. Heermann as critic crumbles. Does he hold Giotto's to have been a "rough craft," or Mantegna's, or Piero della Francesca's, or that of any of the great masters who painted on large surfaces the decorations we hold to be among the most splendid achievements of the painter's art?

We regret the more that Mr. Heermann makes so little of his opportunity because the right book about Frank Duveneck would be of value. He is a distinct personality, an accomplished painter, a great etcher, a talented sculptor; and his influence counted for much in the development of American art during the nineteenth century. Sargent is quoted as having said some twenty or twenty-five years ago, that Duveneck was "the greatest talent of the brush of this generation"—which, if he did say it, was not said felicitously. It is true, however, that Duveneck ranks with the masters of the technique of painting whether of his or any other generation. For the art of drawing and modelling with paint on canvas, he was distinguished from the moment he went as a student to Munich. When his extraordinary studies were seen there, artists and fellow students hailed him as the new Rembrandt; they looked to him to carry the tradition of Rembrandt still further, but they were doomed to disappointment; Duveneck, as a painter, never carried his own art or any tradition beyond this making of extraordinary studies. It may have been due to indifference, it may have been due to inability, but his interest seemed exhausted once he had put down and sketched in his first impression. He put it down with amazing freshness, force, truth—with "amazing surety of hand," as Mr. Grover calls it—but the illustrations in Mr. Heermann's book will show how, to get even this first impression, he was willing to look at people through the eyes of the Old Masters who most appealed to him—Hals, Rembrandt, Velasquez, Rubens. Unfortunately, before he was more than a student himself, before he had time to develop his enormous talent as a painter, he was surrounded by a group of ardent admirers, devoted disciples. He began to teach, and the artist must be strong, indeed, who is not lost in the teacher. Many men who afterwards made name and reputation owe their training to Duveneck. They studied with him in Munich, they followed him to Florence, and to Venice; they became known as "the Duveneck boys," they strayed even into the fiction of the day and as "the Inglehart Boys" wander casually through the pages of Howells's "Indian Summer"; though, as a matter of fact, in the end Chase, his fellow student, had a far larger, if not so distinguished a following of students and a greater influence on American art. But this was more or less Duveneck's fault, and certainly as his students developed he appeared content to stand still, watching their development. After the seventies he did less work as a painter, and how great was the falling off in its quality will be seen in two of the reproductions in the present volume. It is hard to believe that The Florentine Flower Girl and Siesta are by the same artist who painted The Woman with Forget-me-nots and The Whistling Boy.

If Duveneck did less as a painter, he produced in the late seventies and early eighties his most original work—the etchings in which he was entirely himself, using his own eyes, not those of the Old Masters, and revealing a sense of composition that no one had hitherto suspected in him. He took the old, well-worn, hackneyed subjects of Venice—the Riva, the Rialto, the fishing-boats—and made something new out of them, something essentially his own. The painter who had always drawn with the brush now drew with the needle, giving his line a quality few etchers have equalled. The true etcher is so rare that we can understand why these Venetian etchings created a sensation when they were first exhibited in London, though perhaps not why Seymour Haden and Legros should at once have attributed them to Whistler—why, as Whistler said, the surgeon-etcher and the denaturalized Frenchman should have kicked up an unseemly row and made themselves ridiculous. The incident contributed one of the most amusing chapters to "The Gentle Art," so that there is no excuse for Mr. Heermann's dull version of it, which might leave the reader who knows no other, in doubt as to the part Seymour Haden really played in the whole foolish business. But Mr. Heermann cannot take time even to find the right name of the society to which the prints were sent or the correct spelling for the name of the admirer who sent them. Exactness in detail is to him, apparently, less important than lavishness in praise.

Duveneck, as an etcher, never had the success of the young genius whose prints are boomed into notoriety and forced up to big prices by the dealer and in the salesroom. But his etchings will live while those of the young genius are forgotten. When they reappeared as a series at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, the jury awarded to Duveneck that special medal which he could hardly have won as painter alone, or merely as a great influence for good in the art of his day. But if some American painters later confessed that they knew nothing of his work, it is so much against them. Duveneck is a great artist, greater than many who, in recent times, have been more loudly applauded in his own country. N. N.

*Frank Duveneck. By Norbert Heermann. Boston. The Houghton Mifflin Company, $2.

Drama

Contrasts at the Vieux Colombier

AFTER the modern plea for truth in Bernstein's *Le Secret* there could be no sprightlier contrast than *Le Mariage de Figaro*, that classic of intrigue where lie caps lie with all the gayety in the world. Twenty present-day musical comedies could find in the adventures of Figaro abundant plot for their diluted need. But could even the liveliest of these companies outdo the sheer merriment of the French players, their madcap zest and sparkling repartee?

The third play given at the Vieux Colombier was another striking contrast, *Blanchette*, by Eugène Brieux. First produced at the Théâtre Libre, a quarter of a century ago, this discussion of the higher education of women might seem to have only a historic interest at present, but it becomes a fitting setting for a group of fine old peasant portraits. Blanchette, the spoiled daughter of the village innkeeper, has been sent away by her parents to boarding school to get that greatest of denied blessings, an education. The finished product evokes such reverence that she is set upon a pedestal for all the village to admire, and even the old road-mender is called in to praise her works of art. Her advice, even in matters of farming, is followed blindly. But Blanchette is nearly dead of ennui in the stupid village; she holds herself aloof from her mother's humble tasks, refusing to help in the inn. Her one hope is to marry riches. The scales drop slowly from the eyes of the fond old mother and father; time proves Blanchette's advice bad; her chemistry is fatal to farming; her expensive education seems a lost investment. A family crash, literal and spiritual, shatters the dreams of all three, and Blanchette goes out into the world with her father's curse upon her. A year later the homesick, hungry girl comes penitently back, but it is only through the good offices of the old road-mender that the stubborn father relents and gives his

Amusements

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daughter with his blessing to the beaming but inarticulate young farmer who has long dumbly worshipped Blanchette.

The very simplicity of the play brought out the more richly the marvellous old peasant types portrayed by MM. Dullin, Jouvet, and Bouquet. The old père Rousset, as played by M. Dullin, will stand vividly in the memory of those who saw and heard him. An American accustomed to the breathless rush of our usual stage speed could not fail to be impressed with the deliberate movement and the long quiet passages, as when the two old fathers played dominoes and the infatuated son stood speechless before the self-absorbed Blanchette. One can afford a little silence at the Vieux Colombier.

A DRAMATIZATION of Mrs. Henry de la Pasture's novel, "Peter's Mother," produced by Lumsden Hare and W. A. Brady, should have a long run at the Playhouse. Not that the play itself is thrilling; indeed, it lacks dramatic quality after the close of a genuine crisis at the end of the first act, when the mother has to choose between staying with her husband, who has to face a fatal operation, and saying good-bye to her son, who is suddenly sent to the front. But it is a well-written, normal comedy—a genuine comedy. The dramatist has not had to resort to a single one of the favorite "problems" of the hour to sustain its interest. Nor is the theme new—the mother torn between duty to her son and love for his father—and, subsequently to the latter's death—her love for another. The son is a singularly selfish and unpleasant person even after he has returned, wounded, from the war, expecting, as he does, his mother to subordinate her every interest to him. Fortunately for her, he is carried off in marriage by a bright girl who appreciates what he needs in order to make him livable. Thus the mother is free to marry her cousin, a lawyer and man of the world, who is a good foil to her through all the play. There is excellent acting throughout by a most capable company. It is not often that one sees so smooth and even a performance. Miss Selene Johnson gives a satisfactory and attractive performance of the title rôle.

Music

Intimate Opera

IT is a great pleasure to mark the progress of the Society of American Singers (now in its eighth week of opéra comique at the Park Theatre) from its modest and delightful beginning at the Lyceum in the spring of 1917 with two or three light operas of Pergolesi, Mozart, and Donizetti, to the present season when already more than half a dozen operas have been given, and we are promised "Martha" and the "Chimes of Normandy" among the pieces to follow, and perhaps "Fra Diavolo" into the bargain. We are glad to say that the popular response has warranted an extension of the engagement. Of the performances that have already been given it is enough to say that they were done in a way to satisfy every demand of experienced good taste. They brought to us precisely the kind of thing that Europe has had for generations, and that has done so much to establish an acknowledged superiority in sound musical criticism. The Society is not the first agency at work in this field here, nor is it the only one, but it is easily the ablest, and by reason of the non-commercial character of its venture, it is the most disinterested. It is a coöperative organization of artists who have volunteered to work out these exhibitions as purely an affair of public spirit, with a view to developing a more general and more intelligent interest in music. It has taken quite the right way to accomplish its purpose. The sensitive and accurate critical judgment of the Italian public, for instance, is fostered in the intimacy of the small house rather than in the Scala or the San Carlo; it is kept up by hearing cast after cast devote itself conscientiously to interpreting an opera rather than by listening to this or that singer doing a part. The Italian enjoys a guest performance and likes to appraise a celebrity, but what, after all, really interests him is the opera. He takes his place in the gallery of his local opera house much as the tailor or cobbler of Edinburgh takes his in the gallery of the Royal—or did of old time, at least, when, as Sir Henry Irving and many another could testify from bitter experience, the Royal really had a gallery—or as the American takes his on the bleachers at the Polo Grounds. He comes equipped with the Italian equivalent for peanuts and chewing-gum, a profound technical experience of the game, and knowledge of all the inside play; and he sits alert, intent, aware of the exigencies of every critical moment, and knowing precisely how they should be met. Thus there is a continuous and lively reaction between the stage and the audience, often culminating in that transport of enthusiasm called *fanatismo*, whose contagion must be experienced to be understood—and without this reaction neither stage nor audience can carry a performance to complete success.

The small house has been one of the two main mechanical factors in making this possible. European houses are smaller than the Metropolitan, the Century, or the Auditorium, and, as Mr. Hammerstein showed, there is good sense in that arrangement. No one could fail to see how the size of the house has helped the performances at the Park. We shall probably all hear "Hoffmann" again some time under other circumstances, and we shall admire it and think it very fine, but we shall nevertheless remember how much happier we were when we heard it the other night at the Park. Sir Joshua Reynolds once said of a painting, with a snap of his finger, "It lacks *that*." And the *that* of opera depends greatly upon the degree of intimacy permitted by the size of the house.

The second factor is—unfortunately for us English-speaking peoples—the vernacular. The Society sings in English and in doing so does right. It would fail of its purpose otherwise. There are so many bad reasons current for singing in English that it is rather a pity not to make the most of a good one. One can afford to be quite candid in this matter. English is a rich and noble language, and when properly delivered it is a language of considerable distinction; but it is wholly unsuited to singing, partly on account of its immense difficulty (what proportion even of those who are born to it can speak it?), but chiefly because it is not a beautiful language, and no possible artifice on the part of a singer can make it beautiful; it is not beautiful even on the tongue of Alessandro Bonci. But if our monoglot public once hears an opera well done in English, done, for example, as the American Singers do "Mignon" or "Butterfly," it gets immeasurably further into the opera itself, gets more materials for the fabric of its taste and critical judgment, than if it approached the opera a dozen times and were halted by the barrier of a foreign language. Opera should not be sung in English unless there is a collateral reason for doing so, and in this case the Society's reason is a good one.

The Society says that its ultimate object is the development of a national school of music. This is undoubtedly specious. There is no clear reason for a national school of music or for American opera; there is every reason for the promotion of good music and good opera, and the Society may be thoroughly satisfied with what it has done towards this highly desirable end. The production of masterpieces, or even of good journeyman-work in either music or literature, is quite as much a matter of the moment as of the man; and the moment is not now or likely soon to come. The spiritual east wind that set in thirty years ago and still blows unabated permits no such growth to mature; so it is likely that we must content ourselves for some time to come with the legacy of more favorable times. Fortunately it is ample; our best thanks are due to the Society for helping us to understand how rich and satisfying it is and how much can be done with it. No one could ask for more.

A. J. N.

THE volume entitled "William Dunlap: A Study of His Life and Works, and of His Place in Contemporary Culture" (Dunlap Society), by Oral Sumner Coad, is likely to stand as the authoritative biography of a pioneer American craftsman in painting, playrighting, and stage management. The story of Dunlap's prolonged struggle against poverty and physical weakness, of his relations with famous actors and writers of the early nineteenth century, and of his part in forming the early American drama after accepted English and German models, is of intrinsic interest, though unmarked in the telling by imagination or peculiar grace of style. The book is sound in scholarship, and the author carries conviction in his estimates of the ultimate value of Dunlap's work. Unlike most doctorate dissertations, this one is printed on thick paper with wide margins and clear-faced type, and is embellished with sev-

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eral beautiful copies of Dunlap's own paintings. It also contains a complete classified list of Dunlap's writings, a partial list of his extant paintings, and a good index.

THE Columbia Phonograph Company apparently has read the signs of our changing times and has requested Mr. Olin Downes to write a "snappy," up-to-date History of Music. "The Lure of Music" (Harpers; $1.50). Based on the well-known catalogue issued by the company, it is as curious a document as ever appeared. In view of the present hysteria, the learned author has omitted all German names, except in the pronouncing dictionary, where Vahg-neh and Mot-sart duly appear.

Finance

Regulating the Money Market

ACTION by the stock exchange authorities in forcing brokers to reduce their loans upon speculative collateral will rank among the most sensational changes of the war financing period. This move was taken after the Money Pool Committee had recommended that banks increase the margin requirements of stock-exchange loans, so that the collateral should show a valuation 30 per cent. greater than the face of the loan, instead of 20 per cent. greater, as formerly. Under the new regulations, therefore, it will be necessary for a broker on borrowing $100,000 from a bank to put up collateral having a market value of $130,000.

By this means the bankers of the Money Pool Committee have served notice that they intend to prevent such an outburst of speculative enthusiasm as would impose undue burdens upon the money market. So long as the war lasts, the Government must be the preferred borrower, and non-essential loans must be curtailed. Furthermore, the bankers say plainly that if these restrictions do not avail, more drastic measures will be taken to protect the money market from the evils incident to an overwrought speculative campaign.

At the same time that this move was announced, the stock-exchange authorities instituted an investigation into the causes for the sensational rise in Mexican Petroleum shares. The brokers will be required to report the details of purchases and sales between August 1 and October 28. The disclosures of this investigation are likely to be interesting, since the rise of this "peace stock" was becoming almost as sensational as the historic advance of Bethlehem Steel to 700 in the course of the speculation in war-order industrial shares during the autumn of 1916. The speculative impulse is strong and the time may not be far distant when an increased supply of time money may make it possible for the adroit traders of Wall Street to start the speculative ball rolling again. It is evident, however, that the governing committee of the stock exchange has no intention of permitting a resumption of speculative activity on the scale of two years ago. It realizes that such a demonstration might excite antagonistic action by Congress with another investigation quite as disturbing as the money trust inquiry ever was.

A highly important development of the present situation has been the broader buying of bonds. October sales on the New York Stock Exchange aggregated $233,984,500. This was much the largest month's business in bonds ever transacted on that exchange. While the increased sales represent in large measure Liberty bond transactions, they also reflect a material broadening of the investment demand for high-grade railroad and industrial issues. This is a good sign, and means that the American public is sufficiently impressed with the peace possibilities to make it willing to re-employ its surplus funds in long-term investments.

The outlook for the securities markets, therefore, is better than it has been at any time since the United States entered the world war. The Money Pool Committee will probably not do anything to curb the investment buying of bonds, but it may be depended upon to apply the brakes as soon as the speculative machine gains too great momentum. There are interesting times ahead for the securities markets of the United States, and there is reason to believe that there will be a spirited bidding up of the peace stocks as soon as the supply of money available for speculative loans is sufficiently increased to finance such a movement.

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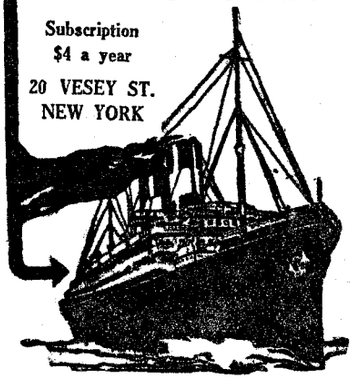

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